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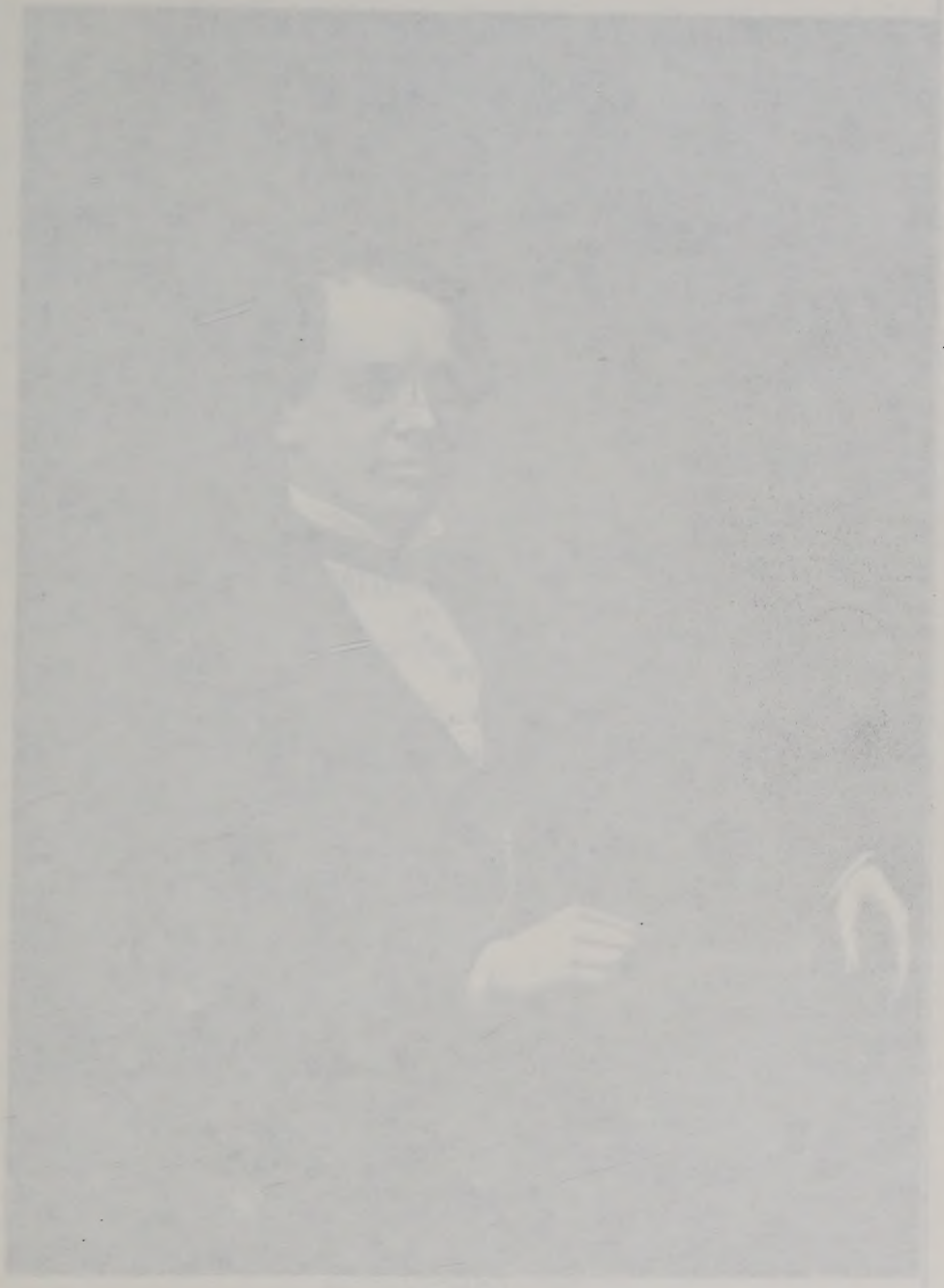

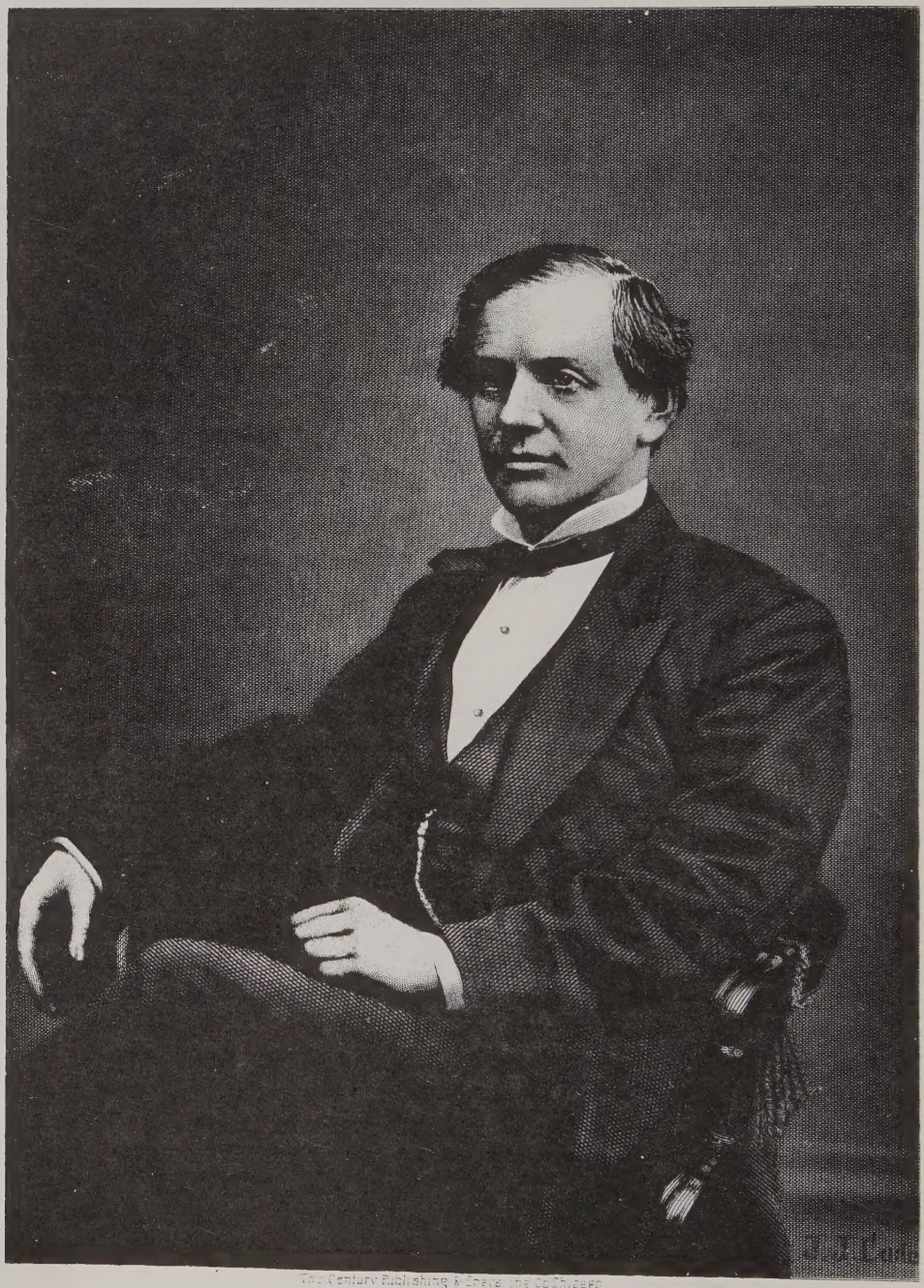

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HISTORY

—OF—

MICHIGAN CITY

INDIANA

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
P. O. Box 549
Seattle, Wash. 98111

BY

ROLLO B. OGLESBEE
And ALBERT HALE

ILLUSTRATED

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EDWARD J. WIDDELL
1908

Michigan City Historical Society proudly dedicates this book to Present and Future Citizens, so that they may better understand and appreciate their heritage, from the citizens of the Past, whose co-operative efforts led to the founding and development of this community.

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PREFACE

IN THE preparation of this book, as a perusal of its pages will reveal to the experienced reader, a more extended research has been pursued than is customary in writings of this character, and far more than can be profitable to the authors in the way of money returns. There is a satisfaction, however, greater than money can give, in the knowledge that some, at least, who have had opportunity to examine advance sheets of the book, feel that an effort has been made to give in accessible form the interesting and instructive story of the origin and developments of Michigan City.

There are few Indiana cities of which so much can be written as of this, and the problem of selection of material has been a serious one, for in the state and national records there is a vast quantity of writings pertaining to the mouth of Trail creek and the commercial and industrial interests that center here. Indeed, when the investigator has patiently explored the city and county archives, and has extended his search to Indianapolis and Washington, not forgetting the matter that is to be found in the records of adjoining counties, he will still find that he is not at the end of his pursuit, for in Quebec, Paris and London there are filed away many musty documents, some open and others not available to the student, bearing on the history of this spot.

It is a matter for deep regret that the most valuable repository of local chronicles of the period since the town sprang into existence—the files of local newspapers—cannot now be consulted. They have been permitted to slip out of existence, and the occasional copy that may now be treasured away by some holder as a keepsake is merely an aggravation because of the incompleteness of the view it affords. In the absence of these weekly records of current events in the olden time, the authors have had recourse to such private letters and papers as could be obtained, and, in the most cautious way, to the recollections of old inhabitants, a species of information that is universally found to be the least reliable. It is of suggestive value, of course, and as such has been eagerly welcomed, but every possible effort has been made to verify the facts received from such sources before embalming them in type.

In such a work as this, if it is honestly performed, recourse must be had to a multitude of persons. It would be impossible and unprofitable to name here all of those who have been called upon with gratifying results; but to every one of the very many who have opened up their treasures for the purposes of this history, the thanks of the authors are here extended with a profound appreciation of the kindness they have met in their inquiries. Besides the private citizens, whose scrapbooks, letter files and other collections have been laid open, there are librarians, public officials and others, who, personally or by correspondence,

have furnished material or guided the authors to places where information could be had, and to all of these acknowledgments are now tendered. It is important in this connection that specific acknowledgment of certain special services be recorded: Rev. E. D. Daniels of LaPorte gave free access to the mass of material collected by him in his laborious preparation of the "History of LaPorte County," a monumental volume, which will always be the standard of authority for the period covered by it. Samuel J. Taylor of the Haskell and Baker Car Company, Michigan City, himself a student of local history, and a collector of matter bearing thereon, gave much of value from his collection. Arthur B. Reed, who in the beginning was interested in the business end of this publication, and Louis Wheeler, city editor of the Michigan City News, have been of great assistance in many ways.

This History was undertaken by R. B. Oglesbee in the latter part of 1905. Business engagements impeded his progress in the writing and finally, in May, 1907, made it necessary for him to obtain help or abandon the enterprise, in which a great deal of labor and considerable money had already been invested. At this juncture Albert Hale, a long-time friend of Mr. Oglesbee, was occupied in seeing through the press his recent volume, "The South Americans," and, having the time to spare, he kindly volunteered his services in completing this book. Nearly the whole of this material had been collected and something more than half of the work was in manuscript when Mr. Hale entered npon the task of finishing the volume.

As a final acknowledgment, and as a simple matter of history, it must be said that without the thoughtful encouragement and the liberal financial aid of Mr. John H. Barker, this work, which in a large way is his contribution to the permanent collection of historical material pertaining to his native city, would have been impossible.

It is impossible to refrain from remarking that a public duty rests upon every citizen to deposit in the City Library for permanent preservation, either during life or by will, every scrap of printed or written material he possesses or can secure bearing on the history of the pleasant little valley of Trail creek and its queen city. In this country family archives and heirlooms seldom survive the second generation, and the only safe repository of such matters is the Library, where they can be cared for and immemorially preserved.

Out of the exigencies of printing this volume has grown the necessity for placing the table of contents in the back part of the book.

The authors are hopeful that the inaccuracies that will inevitably be found in such a work will be counterbalanced by the mass of material that has not heretofore been accessible to students of Michigan City history.

The "History of Michigan City" was written with the purpose of showing the historical influences, almost world-wide in some of their phases, which after centuries of operation, ultimately settled a city at the mouth of Trail Creek, and of showing the narrower influences which guided the development of that city. Among these influences not the least interesting or essential are those which located a car factory at this spot and then made that factory itself a center of influences affecting the growth and development of the place for more than half a century. The book, therefore, becomes to some extent a memorial of the car factory and of the two Barkers, father and son, who made it what it was and what it is.

History of Michigan City

CHAPTER ONE.

Under the Lillies of France.

"The great river Canada," quaintly wrote Purchas in his "Pilgrimage" three centuries ago, "hath, like an insatiable merchant, engrossed all these water commodities, so that other streames are in a manner but meere pedlers."

As Trail creek still empties its small store of waters through the St. Lawrence, so, in the beginnings of its service to civilization, it sent its tribute of furs through the same channel and was indeed but a "meere pedler" in respect to the quantity of such commodities that the Indians and French traders shipped from its marshy borders. No names or dates are found bearing on the traffic of this little stream when the region it drains was a part of Canada, nor is there any record that French or English ever established a trading, military or religious post on its banks, or even set up a temporary village or encampment there. The most that can be said is that certain things must have taken place at that point because of what is known to have been going forward in the near vicinity.

The beautiful and significant name of the stream, Riviere du Chemin, of which the name Trail creek is an exact translation, dates back to the period of the French occupancy, and the rivulet itself is clearly delineated on very early maps, as early as the Franquelin map of 1688. The names Dishmaw, Dismaugh, Dysman, and the like, by which Trail creek was referred to seventy-five years ago, indicate the struggles of the American pioneers with the French language until some one able to make the translation came along. The ancient trail from which the name is derived originally crossed the county from near the mouth of the creek to Hudson lake, where it struck the old Sac trail connecting Rock Island, Illinois, with Detroit—this path was in use long before any white man ever saw either of those places—and it bowed about three miles to the south in its course to avoid the marshy headwaters of the Galien river. It later took the Sac trail near the center of section twelve, a mile east of Rolling Prairie, and when the first settlers began opening up the roads they gave the junction the name Bootjack because of the acute angle formed there. The two waters alluded to were called by the French Riviere du Chemin and Lac du Chemin —the river by the trail and the lake by the trail—names that were applied until after the organization of the county. It is a curious circumstance that the name as attached to the lake, and phonetically converted into Dishmaugh, was set back into the French as Des Moines by some French-speaking person who was unacquainted with the original name, and so Hudson lake came near going on the

map as Des Moines lake, the lake of the monks, and it does so appear in some of the early record and in one of the state gazetteers.

The French made their way westward from Montreal to Lake Huron through the rivers of Canada, avoiding Ontario and Erie and especially their southern shores because of the deadly hostility of the fierce and implacable Iroquois. The region surrounding Lake Superior and the northern parts of Lake Michigan and the Wisconsin river portage to the Mississippi were thus well known before Michigan, Indiana, Ohio and the eastern portages were discovered. In the summer of 1634 Jean Nicolet, an explorer in the service of Champlain's fur company, discovered Lake Michigan and pushed his frail canoe southward to Green bay. Thirty-five years later Father Claude Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, made the acquaintance of the Pottawattomies in their then home in the Lake Superior country. June 14, 1671, these Indians, with delegates from thirteen other tribes, went into council at Sault Ste. Marie with Saint Lusson and agreed to a treaty of friendship with the French by the terms of which Louis XIV was to hold sovereignty in the regions about Lakes Huron and Superior. Never after did the Pottawattomies succeed in shaking off the grip of the white man placed upon them that day in the presence of Louis Joliet, Nicholas Perrot the interpreter, the Jesuits Allouez, Andre, Dreuilletes and D'Ablon, and a little group of traders, though many were the efforts they made in the century and a half ensuing.

In the meantime LaSalle, it is reasonably established, had in 1669-70 traversed the Ohio along the southern boundary of Indiana. In 1671 or 1672 he passed through Lake Michigan to its southern extreme and ascended the Kankakee, doubtless to the South Bend portage. Of these journeys no satisfactory details have been recovered, but he probably voyaged along the west shore of the lake and he certainly traveled through La-Porte county and was the first European to do so. Joliet and good Father Marquette were next to visit the south shore of Lake Michigan, descending the Mississippi from the Wisconsin river portage and ascending the Illinois and Des-Plaines to the Chicago portage, then coasting the west shore to Green bay in the latter part of 1673. There Father Marquette lay sick all winter, but in the spring he returned to Chicago and spent there another winter of sickness and suffering, preaching nevertheless to the Indians who came long distances from Indiana and Illinois to see him, and early in 1675 he pursued his journey to Kaskaskia. Again his strength failed him and he was taken northward by his two canoemen, Pierre and Jacques, and several faithful converts to die. In May the party embarked in canoes at Chicago and sailed along the eastern coast of the lake until he died near Marquette, Michigan, May 27, 1675. On this voyage, the first along that shore of which there is any record, stops were made at short intervals at the mouths of streams for rest, and it is not a violent stretch of the imagination to think of this good man as reposing for a night under the protection of Hoosier Slide, the first civilized person to set foot on the sands of Michigan City. On such occasions, it is recorded, the attendants would draw the dying priest's canoe gently upon the beach and hastily erect a shelter of boughs under which they would lay him tenderly on a couch of dried grass. His only food was coarse corn meal mixed with water and baked in the ashes, with an occasional morsel of game broiled on the coals. To the wondering Indians of the neighborhood, who flocked to his encampment, he would not fail to give instruction in the Christian mysteries while he had strength

STREET AND PARK VIEWS

so to do, and so it is not unlikely that the first Christian prayer ever uttered on the soil of LaPorte county proceeded from the lips of that sainted priest.

To Claude Allouez was assigned the missionary work dropped by Father Marquette and until his death on the St. Joseph river in 1690 he traveled and preached all through the territory adjacent to the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan. Doubtless many of the French geographical names in that region were conferred by him, possibly LaPorte and Du Chemin among them. He must have been familiar with the old Sac trail and its branch to Trail creek and Chicago and probably followed them many times, but the names and descriptions used in accounts of travel and adventure in those days are vague and disappointing. He wrote that he visited the Indians "at the sand hills," which might, as the old trails lay, relate to Hoosier Slide or the mouth of the Calumet, or almost anywhere between.

In November, 1679, LaSalle and several companions paddled their frail bark canoes down the west shore of the lake and around the head to the mouth of the St. Joseph river where they met Tonty, "the man of the iron arm," and his party, and where they built Fort St. Joseph, Father Hennepin, the Recollet missionary, being with them. During the next four years LaSalle and Frenchmen in his service were often at St. Joseph and they thoroughly explored the main-traveled trails all through northern Indiana. It is at this time that was made the first certain record of a white man's visit to the mouth of Trail creek, and it is LaSalle himself, most romantic and most practical of all dreamers of visions, whose name is entitled to the honor. December 21, 1681, LaSalle sent Tonty, his trusted lieutenant, with an advance party from the mouth of the St. Joseph to Chicago by canoes. On the 28th he followed them on foot, taking the shore of the lake, and on the 29th or 30th he crossed the mouth of Trail creek. That is all that is known about it. He left no description or even mention of the spot, and it cannot be stated whether or not he camped there, as it is possible he did, but at that time, in the midst of a severe winter, he passed through the limits of what is now Michigan City. Twice before, in December, 1680, and March, 1681, LaSalle traveled from Chicago to the mouth of the St. Joseph and it is conjectured that he followed the margin of the lake both times, but the fact is not definitely stated, and so the record stands as it is given here.

It is not to be supposed that no European preceded the hardy voyagers that have been named as visiting the south end of the lake. It is nearly certain that Nicholas Perrot was as far down as the Chicago river in 1671, and Father Marquette, on his arrival at that point in 1674, found two French traders established in cabins there, Pierre Moreau, alias La Taupine, and a companion called the Surgeon, who had explored the region of the Kankakee and Calumet rivers and may have visited Trail creek. These two were irregular and unlicensed traders, outlawed under the orders of the king, and they did not care to make any record of their adventures; and some of LaSalle's servants abandoned him and embarked in the same traffic in defiance of the law. Some were arrested, others adopted the Indian mode of life and were never heard of more, and no writing remains to inform the historian what they did or where they did it. Moreover, it is charged by some respectable writers that the clergy, who made most of the records of those early explorations, took to themselves undue credit for their own labors and minimized the achievements of others, so that the traders and soldiers who preceded the priests are in great part

lost to history. This imputation cannot justly be placed upon Father Marquette, for in his writings he gave the credit to Joliet as the commander of the expedition to the Mississippi, but there is every reason to fear that Father Hennepin, who accompanied LaSalle in 1679-80, sought to rob that great man of some portion of the laurels that he laboriously earned.

"Many discoveries had been made to the Northward before Monsieur de la Sale's Time; because there being Plenty of very good Furs, the traders of Quebeck and Montreal, by Means of the Adventurers call'd Wood-Men (coureurs de bois), from their traveling thro' the Woods, had penetrated very far up the Country that Way; but none had advanced far towards the South or South-West, beyond Fort Frontenac, which is on the Lake Ontario, the nearest this Way of the five great Lakes. However, upon the Report of the Natives, it was supposed, that great and advantageous Discoveries might be made. There had been much Talk of the rich Mines of St. Barbara, in the Kingdom of Mexico, and some were tempted to give them a Visit. Something was known of the famous River Mississippi, which it was supposed might fall into the South Sea, and open a Way to it. These Conjectures working upon Monsieur de la Sale, who being zealous for the Honour of his Nation, design'd to signalize the French Name, on Account of extraordinary Discoveries, beyond all that went before him; he form'd the Design and resolv'd to put it in Execution. He was certainly very fit for it, and succeeded at the Expense of his Life; for no Man has done so much in that Way as he did for the Space of twenty Years he spent in that Employment. He was a Man of a regular Behaviour, of a large Soul, well enough learned, and understanding in the Mathematicks, designing, bold, undaunted, dexterous, insinuating, not to be discourag'd at any Thing, ready at extricating himself out of any Difficulties, no Way apprehensive of the greatest Fatigues, wonderful steady in Adversity, and what was of extraordinary Use, well enough versed in several Savage Languages."

The foregoing extract from the journal of Henri Joutel, written more than two hundred years ago by one who was intimately associated with the man in his last voyage, is, for the present purpose, a sufficient characterization of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de LaSalle, whose eventful and intensely dramatic career forms a fitting close to the heroic period of French and Spanish exploration in North America. The adventures of this man and his companions and contemporaries in the great valley of the Mississippi are among the most interesting and thrilling in all history and it is well to remember that he led the way for white occupancy in the valley of Trail creek.

In the summer of 1805 Captain Roald Amundsen, a Norwegian, sailed the little sloop Gjoa from Atlantic into Pacific waters, the first time that feat was ever achieved. This voyage of today completes the solution of the problem which started Columbus on his cruise into the unknown west, and in the chain connecting the two events LaSalle's illustrious career forms an important link. From very early times there was trade and war between Europe and the Indies, or the far east. The routes between the two regions, whether overland or by inside waters, were difficult and infested by robbers and pirates. Gradually, out of the geographical ignorance that was universal, there emerged a suspicion that an outside route by ocean waters might be found, and as trade increased and marauding became more common it became necessary to investigate the possibilities in that direction. Throughout Europe men were asking, Can there be such a thing as an ocean route to the eastern land of gold and jewels and spices and silks? "A more startling question has seldom been propounded,"

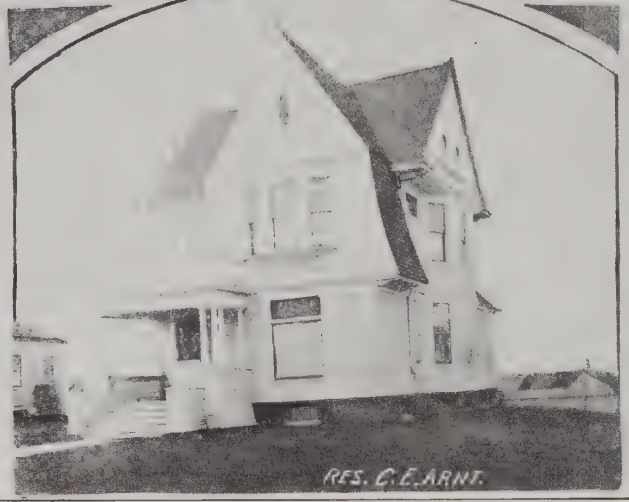
says Fiske, "for it involved a radical departure from the grooves in which the human mind had been running ever since the days of Solomon. Two generations of men lived and died while this question was taking shape, and all that time Cathay and India and the Island of Spices were objects of increasing desire clothed by eager fancy with all manner of charms and riches. The more effectually the eastern Mediterranean was closed, the stronger grew the impulse to venture upon unknown paths in order to realize the vague but glorious hopes that began to cluster about those remote countries. Such an era of romantic enterprise as was thus ushered in, the world has never seen before or since." It was directly through the interest that Europe felt in Asia that America was discovered and explored, and out of the problem undertaken by Columbus grew the questions that led LaSalle and his contemporaries into the valley of the Mississippi and the basin of Lake Michigan.

Columbus died in the belief that he had reached the Indies. The great discoverers who followed him were long in finding out that the land barriers they so constantly fell upon in sailing west on the Atlantic constituted a hemisphere instead of a succession of islands and they could not think there was no way of getting around through open seas. Vasco da Gama, in 1499, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and reached Hindustan by that route, which served to incite further and harder efforts toward finding a shorter and easier westward passage. In November, 1520, Ferdinand Magellan passed the strait bearing his name and when he "sawe the way open to the other mayne sea (the Pacific), he was so gladde thereof that for ioy the teares fell from his eyes." West and still west he sailed and yet he did not reach the Indies until in 1522, long after he had discovered the Philippines. The vast distance and the difficulties of the strait made that route impracticable and thereafter the problem resolved itself into the existence of a northwest passage, a question that was never solved until long after it had ceased to be of commercial importance. Hopefully the coasts of the northeast were scrutinized and every opening entered and explored. The St. Lawrence was navigated and then the great lakes, and at the head of these inland seas Indians were found who told of a "great water" just a little farther to the west, meaning the Mississippi but understood as referring to the western ocean so eagerly longed for. When it became known that the "great water" was a river it was still desirable to explore it in the hope that it might flow into the western sea and provide a route to the Indies. For commercial reasons both England and France were deeply concerned in finding such a route, but France was much more enterprising in the west than was England and led the way. As the details of the continent came to be known it was seen that the northwest passage, if one existed, must lie in the forbidding regions above the Arctic Circle and the problem lost its commercial importance and was left to the geographers for solution, with the result that the passage has now been navigated for the first time, though it was traced by land by Captain Robert L. McClure, in 1850.

Joliet's journey in 1673, when, as has been seen, he was accompanied by Marquette, was ordered by Count Frontenac to verify the opinion that the Mississippi discharged its waters into the Mexican gulf, and Frontenac reported to his government Joliet's belief on his return that water communication could be found leading to the Pacific by means of the Missouri river, which he discovered. LaSalle named his western post La Chine (China) as expressive of his expectation

RES. OF HON. URIAH CULBERT

RES. R. D. COUCH



RES. C. E. ARNT

RES. MAYOR KRUEGER

of finding the water passage to that country through northern America and in 1669 he set out to accomplish the discovery, led by the reports of Indians concerning the "great water" which he then supposed would lead him to the Gulf of California. Other explorers similarly inspired penetrated the wilds of the regions west and south of the great lakes. They failed in their original purpose, but they found a land of such noble promise as to captivate the imagination and cause them to drop all other plans for the single plan of securing it for France and filling it with colonists.

To LaSalle's imaginative insight the colonial possibilities of the great central valley appealed quickly and powerfully and he prepared himself to undertake the task of adding to his king's dominions a territory of tremendous area and value. Spain vaguely claimed the entire continent by reason of her early discoveries, beginning with that of Columbus, and she more specifically claimed the Mississippi valley because of her discovery of the mouth and lower portion of that stream. England declared her right of sovereignty as based upon her discoveries along the Atlantic coast, evidenced by her early colonial charters reading from sea to sea. France had some indefinite claims, but she did not rest upon those; she proceeded with aggressive enterprise to reduce the land itself to possession, according to plans originating with LaSalle and by him put into effect. Thenceforward New France, meaning all of North America west of the Alleghanies but more especially that portion of it watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, was a paramount issue in European politics until the Americans themselves settled it by the Revolution. The French occupation of the valley has been likened to a great wedge, a flying wedge such as football enthusiasts know about, whose point was aimed at the mouth of the great river, whose eastern side was intended to hold the English east of the mountains and sweep the Spanish out of Florida, and whose western side was calculated to grasp the uncertain regions beyond the Mississippi. That the French government failed weakly to follow up the movement of this wedge of LaSalle's should not in any measure detract from the genius of the man who conceived it and had the courage and imagination to apply it. Great in hope and not dejected by inconceivable disappointments, he was assassinated in the wilds of Texas by one of his own followers before his work was done, and there was none to take it up. He died in 1687 and his place of burial, if indeed he was buried, has never been found.

Whoever was the first Caucasian to reach the mouth of Trail creek, LaSalle led the way and provided the reason for the journey. Whoever he was, and whether he journeyed along the red man's path by the slender stream, or made his way over the wave-washed beach, or floated upon the bosom of the majestic lake, he gazed upon a scene that could not be duplicated elsewhere on earth. Stretching away to the west as far as his vision could reach he saw the swelling waters of the glorious inland sea. Looking landward his eyes could pierce the hardwood forest growth just enough to discern the forbidding marshes lying close up against the remarkable barriers of pure sand that held the waters back from the low land on the east. And where the sluggish little brook, with many a sinuous curve, reluctantly approached the end of its brief course, there was a level floor of yellow sand, half a mile in extent between two guardian peaks, over which it discharged itself by narrow and shallow channels whose openings were changed at the caprice of every freshet. Whether this first of Europeans came in spring, with its opales-

cent waters, its gleaming sands and its vernal greens, or in summer, with its azure sky and lake, its deeper greens on land and its great glowing dunes, or in the fall, when the foliage riots in burning colors and the golden masses of sand face an infinite vista of sapphire sky and sea, or even in winter, for there is a beauty in the bleakness of glistening snow and heaving ice fringed by the evergreen banks of the pines, he saw the rough beauty of an untamed wilderness, but a beauty peculiar to the spot.

And yet, however the artist might linger enraptured with the varying charms of the scene, there was nothing to induce a settlement. To the utilitarian view there appeared but a whirling bed of sand, backed by miasmic swamps and exposed to sweeping winds from the lake, and the insignificant streamlet with its restricted mouth gave no suggestion of harbor possibilities. Trail creek, though its graceful windings and willow fringes were pleasing features in the landscape, was not useful to canoemen, for it was too short, it led to no portage and its mouth was obstructed by a bar that prevented the passage of even the lightest birch shallop of the hunter and trapper. The Indians knew the spot as a favorable place for hiding from their enemies or secluding their families while on the warpath, or as a good place for fishing in the season. There is no evidence that they ever maintained a village there, no aboriginal remains have been found in the immediate vicinity, and the most that can now be said about it as the site of any sort of settlement prior to the date of the present city is that in one of the reports of the state geologist there is a map showing all known Indian villages in the state and on this map there appears the name A-ber-cronk at the mouth of the creek. The authority for introducing this peculiar name, which seems not to be Indian at all, is now unknown. Considering the courses of the old trails and the favorable conditions for camping it is not unlikely that the place was a favorite ground for that purpose from the earliest times. The only way we may now learn of the conditions of life that prevailed on the Riviere du Chemin during the French and English periods is to investigate the history of the nearest historic regions, the St. Joseph and Chicago rivers, which are very intimately related.

Late in 1673 Joliet and Marquette reached the stream called Chicagou, or some variation of that name, by the earlier explorers and usually identified as the present Chicago river (there is a question whether the Calumet was not meant), and the priest went on to Green bay. Whether Joliet continued the journey with him or not is uncertain, for there is some reason for thinking that he remained in that vicinity a while. When Marquette returned there the following spring he found the place occupied by two French traders as their headquarters and was forced to make their cabin his home for nearly a year while he lay sick. These traders were the Surgeon and La Taupine (a nickname meaning "the skip-jack"), the latter having been present when Saint Lusson and the rest asserted the sovereignty of France over the entire west in 1671 at Sault Ste. Marie, thinking there were but fifteen hundred leagues of navigation from that place to Tartary, China and Japan; Joliet was also there and was associated with La Taupine, whose true name was Pierre Moreau. These two traders were very kind to the sick Jesuit and built one or two additional cabins for his convenience and for his two servants, Pierre and Jacques. Some families of Miami Indians were settled there in huts and they treated the whites in a very friendly manner. The priest ministered to the red men as his condi-

tion of health admitted and they brought him food and cared for him. Indians came long distances to see and hear the "black robe" and some of the dying were baptized at that time. The two traders ranged through all the adjacent country for many miles in the pursuit of their business. In the summer of 1679, a short time prior to LaSalle's arrival at the south end of the lake, La Taupine went to Quebec and was arrested for irregular trading, but escaped prosecution, while it seems that the Surgeon joined LaSalle that same winter and went with him to the Illinois river. In all probability these men were acquainted with Trail creek, but in any case they found the Indians entirely amiable during their residence of six years in this section.

Hennepin, LaSalle's Recollet missionary, has left an account of the erection of the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph, the first establishment of any kind made by Europeans near Indiana soil. The little company of Frenchmen arrived late in 1679, having skirted the south end of the lake, and were compelled to wait for the coming of Tonty. While thus waiting the fort was built. Hennepin said:—

"Just at the mouth of the river Miamis there was an eminence with a kind of a platform naturally fortified. It was pretty high, and steep, of a triangular form—defended on two sides by the river, and on the other by a deep ditch, which the fall of the waters had made. We felled the trees that were on the top of the hill; and having cleared the same from bushes for about two musket shot, we began to build a redoubt of eighty feet long and forty feet broad, with great square pieces of timber, laid one upon another; and prepared a great number of stakes, of about twenty-five feet long, to drive into the ground, to make our fort the more inaccessible on the river side. We employed the whole month of November about that work, which was very hard, though we had no other food but the bears' flesh our savage [LaSalle's Mohican guide] killed. These beasts are very common in that place, because of the great quantity of grapes they find there; but their flesh being too fat and luscious, our men began to be weary of it, and desired leave to go a hunting to kill some wild goats [deer]. M. LaSalle denied them that liberty, which caused some murmurs among them; and it was but unwillingly that they continued their work. This, together with the approach of the winter, and the apprehension that M. LaSalle had that his vessel [the Griffin] was lost, made him feel very melancholy, though he concealed it as much as he could. We had made a cabin wherein we performed divine service every Sunday; and Father Gabriel and I, who preached alternately, took care to take such texts as were suitable to our present circumstances, and fit to inspire us with courage, concord, and brotherly love."

This fort was called Fort Miamis, and the river was given the same name, for the Indians found living on its banks. About a year later, when LaSalle returned to it, he found it in ruins, destroyed by "perfidious wretches" in his own service. Later he built the fort near Niles and called it Fort St. Joseph, which name ultimately attached to the stream and has never since been changed. A Jesuit mission was also established at the same place, and the military and religious history of that spot was hardly interrupted for more than a hundred years.

Remains have been found to show that man inhabited this region in the Glacial or Interglacial epoch, and many thousands of years later came the mound-builders, who, however, left no marks of their existence nearer to Michigan City than the Kankakee river. The aborigines dwelling between the Chicago and St. Joseph rivers in LaSalle's time were chiefly Miamis, who were being harassed almost beyond endurance by the ferocious Iroquois from the east and who were shortly to be crowded seriously by the Pottawattomies from the Green bay

district. The Iroquois, pressing westward along the southern shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, were implacable in their hatred of the French and of the western Indians and they were powerful and warlike. As early as in 1661 they made a rapid foray clear around the south end of Lake Michigan and in subsequent years they often gathered scalps along the Illinois river as far as Peoria. The western Indians with whom they came in contact were afraid of them, and when LaSalle, in pursuit of his scheme of colonization, proposed an alliance of the tribes against the Iroquois there was much to be thought about in the wigwams; sucess would be glorious, but failure would be disastrous indeed, and the French were few in number to pin much faith to in such a venture as that suggested. There were many tribes in southern Michigan, northern Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, some of whom were not of the friendliest with others to be taken into the alliance, and these tribes were all constantly moving and changing their homes. The project was as difficult as it was bold, but the Frenchman spent months visiting them in their villages and succeeded in a measure in accomplishing his purpose. Partly by his plan, in which he had the aid of the missionaries, and partly as a result of movements that had long been taking place among the red men, a general eastward drift pushed the Iroquois back into New York, giving Ohio and central Indiana to the Miamis, while the Pottawattomies swarmed around the lake and occupied northern Indiana and southern Michigan, with the St. Joseph river as a center. Sacs and Foxes, and some other smaller tribes, lived at places in the same region on friendly terms with the Pottawattomies, and a remnant of the Mohicans, driven far to the west, secluded themselves in the upper marshes of the Kankakee. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Sacs and Foxes had retired to the west, the other tribes had found suitable hunting grounds elsewhere, and the Pottawattomies were in sole possession of the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan. All of the American Indians were inclined to be friendly with the whites until the aggressions and vices of the civilized invaders made friendship and respect impossible.

"We are told," said John L. Steward in "Lost Maramech," "that the natives of the new world were savages; as reported by intruders into their country, they appear so to have been. To those who intruded, no doubt, the natives seemed tameless; if tameless meant inability to turn to our domestic ways, more savage in many respects than their own, they were indeed tameless. If it was thought by the invaders that to defend homes and kindred, to drive intruders from their hunting grounds that constituted their fields of sustenance, rendered them worthy of the name, they were savages."

The Indians became first suspicious and then hostile when they saw the whites, preaching a mystical and incomprehensible gospel of salvation, engaged in practices that violated every principle of the red man's ethical code and at the same time defying the only real estate laws the savages knew anything about, erecting forts in their hunting grounds, claiming sovereignty over their lands and driving them slowly and irresistibly to new homes they did not want. Drunkenness, stealing, murder for the purpose of robbery, other unknown vices, new diseases, all these were among the introductions of civilization which the untutored savage could not understand but which he gradually adopted or acquired. The Indians loved their lands with savage passion and those who dwelt in the Trail creek region had special grounds for their attachment to the soil, for it was rich in all the natural resources upon which they depended for their susten-

ance. Bison were on the prairies, beaver were along the shaded streams, the woods had plenty of bear, deer were all about, and fish, fowl and small game abounded, besides which, in season, wild fruits grew everywhere in profusion. It was with the greatest reluctance that, within the past century, the Pottawattomies permitted themselves to be driven out and took up their sorrowful march toward the setting sun.

LaSalle passed out of Indiana history in the autumn of 1683, when he went to France to organize his expedition to the Mississippi by way of the gulf in the prosecution of which enterprise he lost his life. The young but astute Nicholas Perrot, who was an interpreter at the treaty of Sault Ste. Marie, as has been stated, in 1671, and who was appointed as a sort of Indian agent about Lake Michigan near that time, took his place among the savages to some extent until 1694 and was several times on the St. Joseph river in his efforts to keep the tribes united against the Iroquois and to counteract the designs of the English, but he left no description of the locality with which we are concerned beyond the mere mention that he saw "mountains of white sand." Allouez, who succeeded Marquette as missionary at the south of the lake, went to the St. Joseph after the Recollets were withdrawn by direction of the government and died at the mission near Niles in 1690. Other priests occupied the field and cultivated it with commendable zeal, traveling indefatigably throughout this region, Father Chardon being one and possibly Fathers Marest and D'Ablon being others who saw the Riviere du Chemin. In the summer of 1683, the British agents having with some show of success attempted to corrupt the Green bay Pottawattomies and other northwestern tribes, through the operations of the Iroquois, in the hope of diverting the profitable beaver trade from French channels, officers were sent to the outlying posts to thwart the movement. Among those who then went out was the brave Chevalier de Baugy, of the King's Dragoons, who voyaged hurriedly down the eastern shore of Lake Michigan on his way to the support of Tonty on the Illinois. It is probable, though not at all certain, that he made a night encampment at Hoosier Slide. At the same time Sieur de La Durantaye, with six canoes and thirty experienced men, was sent to Mackinac and Green bay on the same business and in 1685 he passed down the west shore to Chicago and constructed a fort there. In 1683 LaSalle had left two men at that place in a log cabin which was sometimes referred to as a fort. Probably before 1690 a palisaded station was constructed near Chicago for the use of traveling missionaries and as early as 1698 a Jesuit mission was established there. Father Pinet was in charge.

The designs of LaSallé included a chain of garrisoned fortifications extending from Montreal to the mouth of the Mississippi along a route following the lakes by way of Mackinac to the mouth of the St. Joseph, thence up that stream and down the Kankakee and Illinois, or to the Chicago and thence down the Des Plaines and Illinois. The portages at South Bend and Chicago thus became of great importance. He strengthened Fort Frontenac and gave it that name, on Lake Ontario; threw up a blockhouse at Niagara, where a fort was built later; established a position, which was of brief duration, at the head of the Detroit river and called it Fort St. Joseph; utilized the post already long occupied at Michillimacinac; built Fort Miamis at the mouth of the St. Joseph river and, soon after that was destroyed, Fort St. Joseph near Niles; erected Forts Creve Coeur and St. Louis on the Illinois river, and located a base at Chicago. In 1686

Du Lhut built and occupied another Fort St. Joseph near Detroit and in 1701 Cadillac founded the present city of Detroit, naming the fort Pontchartrain. About this time a new route to the Mississippi was opened by way of the Fort Wayne portage and the Wabash and Ohio rivers, the Iroquois danger having been removed, and posts were established at Fort Wayne, Ouiatenon (near Lafayette) and Vincennes. In the beginning

CENTRAL SCHOOL

of the eighteenth century, therefore, the traveler to the west had a choice of several routes. He could leave Lake Erie at the Maumee and proceed down the Wabash and Ohio; he could take the old Sac trail at Detroit and follow it almost as the crow flies through the present sites of Niles, LaPorte, Valparaiso and Joliet to Rockford; he could go on to Mackinac and voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan to Chicago and thence by the DesPlaines and Illinois; he could take the east shore south to the St. Joseph and follow the Kankakee. If the traveler went from St. Joseph to the Chicago river he followed the coast in a frail canoe, or he marched along the sand beach close to the lapping waves, or he took the Sac trail at Niles, left it at Bootjack for the trail by the river and journeyed on the beach from the mouth of Trail creek. These routes led him through the ground now occupied by Michigan City, and all were much traveled. Franquelin's map of 1684 indicates the mouth of Trail creek and his later map of 1688 delineates the stream quite accurately, though without giving it a name, and these are the earliest maps on which the creek appears. It is presumed that the cartographer received his information from LaSalle.

The French occupancy of the great central basin as a part of Canada, under the name of New France, continued until

the treaty of Paris in 1763, when the sovereignty was transferred to Great Britain. During all that time the English persisted in their efforts to win the Indians and gain a foothold. For ninety years prior to the peace of Paris the provincial seat of government for Michigan City, had there been such a place, was vibrating between Quebec, New Orleans and Montreal, with intermediate authority at times at Fort Chartres and Detroit and the ultimate power at Paris. It seems more like a dream than the sober truth of history that the approval of Louis the Great, that gorgeous spendthrift, as Parkman calls him, was a prerequisite to the exploration of LaPorte county and to commercial intercourse with its naked denizens, and that the sensual monster Louis XV, as Jacob P. Dunn calls him in writing on this subject, held in his hands the supreme power over the welfare of the first settlers in this region. In 1763 the capital passed from Paris to London and there remained until it crossed the Atlantic to Richmond at the close of the Revolution. The frequent periods of war in Europe, in which Spain declined and France came into the ascendency and the wilderness of America was always a factor, were seasons of inactivity in New France, followed when peace was declared by renewed briskness, as after the peace of Ryswick in 1697, of Utrecht in 1713 and of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The red men knew nothing of the giant struggles in Europe over political questions, but they were always besought to enter into wars, each nation involved striving to set them on the posts and colonies of the other.

"Some minister," says Dunn, "would pen a few lines in his luxurious chambers beyond the Atlantic; a few weeks later some commandant in the depths of the American wilderness would assemble the neighboring tribes, give them some powder, some blankets, and some rum, and inform them that the Great French Father, or the Great English Father, had dug up the tomahawk, and now directed them to strike it in the heads of his enemies: after another interval the night would be lighted by burning wigwams or frontier cabins, and the forests would resound with the shrieks of dying women and children. This would be but a beginning. Weeks might pass, or months, or years, but the day of retaliation would come, and the conquering tribe would see its villages destroyed, its fields laid waste, its warriors burned at the stake or boiled and eaten, its women and children slain or carried captive. And what cared the great people of Europe? Basta! A few Indians more or less amounted to nothing. There were plenty more of them."

These lively words of Indiana's most accurate historian tell the story of the Indian movements in these northwestern counties during the French and English regimes. They even explain that dreadful and treacherous massacre by the Pottawattomies at Fort Dearborn in 1812. And they contain a hint as to the causes lying back of the destruction of the Foxes at old Maramech in September, 1730, the details of which affair have only recently been recovered by John F. Steward and published in his thrilling story of "Lost Maramech." During two or three years the hostility of the Foxes grew more pronounced and at last, in the month named, there came an outbreak that caused French forces to be hurried up from Mackinac, Detroit, Fort Chartres and Fort St. Joseph. At the last-named stronghold the Sieur de Villiers, supported by his son, was in command and Father LePere was the missionary priest. A great number of Pottawattomies and Sacs occupied the region, reaching down to Trail creek. When Indian runners arrived telling of the Fox uprising De Villiers took fifty French soldiers and five hundred of the Indian warriors and marched to the vil-

lage of Maramech in Illinois, near the Fox river. He left his fort August 10, but four days after receiving the information, and arrived on the 20th, followed ten days later by a detachment hastening along the Sac trail from Detroit. Very possibly he marched by the Trail creek trail. The Foxes endeavored to get away from their enemies and join the Iroquois, who were friends of the English, but the French thwarted them and in the fighting killed two hundred, wounded many and took a large number of prisoners, completely cowing them for years to come. It transpired during the engagement that the Sacs with de Villiers plotted to betray the French and to release the Foxes from the lines in which they were held. A hundred years later the Sacs and Foxes were living together in amity and they remembered the slaughter at Maramech when they embarked upon the desperate enterprise now known as Black Hawk's war.

We come now to the final measuring of swords that determined whether the language and civilization of the city to arise at the mouth of Trail creek should be French or English. The lilies of France were urged gradually eastward until there was a line of French forts from Presq'Isle to DuQuesne, under the very shadow of the mountains which held the English back, and the English were seeking in every way to oppose the advance and to break through the mountain range into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. In this effort George Washington first appears in history. Between the two nations the Indians were drawn first one way and then another, and then back again, in a sadly confusing manner; but one of them expressed the situation very clearly when he said to an Englishman: "You and the French are like the two edges of a pair of shears, and we are the cloth which is cut to pieces between you." The Iroquois and other eastern tribes gave their sympathies largely to the British, while those of the west inclined toward the French, and the emissaries of both nations were constantly passing among all of them with gifts and seductive promises. A clandestine trade, also, was carried on with the English through the upper New York and Ohio river routes, in spite of the utmost vigilance of the French. Some of the Ohio Miamis were seduced by British adherents among the Hurons and captured the blockhouse where Fort Wayne is now, but they were prevented from carrying into effect their threats against Detroit and Fort St. Joseph. This was about 1745, and within five years the English influence had reached the Wabash Indians and was disaffecting the La-Porte county Pottawattomies, who never quite overcame the liking they acquired at that time for the representatives of King George. In the next five years the redcoats were driven back and Braddock's defeat served to fix the loyalty of the redskins to the French, for the time being. The long-smouldering flames of war now burst violently forth, to be subdued by Wolfe's victory at Quebec in 1759. Through the French and Indian war Fort St. Joseph sat at the crossing of the old Sac trail and the St. Joseph river, an outpost of the garrison at Detroit, holding the key to the western route. The post at Chicago had been abandoned fifty years. A dozen men, surrounded by thousands of Indians who were always to be suspected, upheld the fleur de lis and maintained the sovereignty of France in the territory adjacent to the southeast shores of the lake, until one day in 1760 there came a messenger telling of the capitulation at Montreal and directing the evacuation of the post. In the battle of Quebec the colossal French power in America received a fatal stroke and one of its results was to give an English name to the Riviere du

Chemin. The definitive treaty of peace was executed at Paris February 10, 1763, completing the surrender and transfer of the whole of Canada to Great Britain.

The ancient Indian highway down the valley of Trail creek, which for nearly a century had been worn deep by the feet of traders, soldiers and priests and had resounded with the songs of coureurs de bois, voyageurs and engages, all speaking the soft language of France, knew them no more. The period was the most romantic and poetic this portion of the country has ever known. It kindles the imagination to think of standing on ground pressed by the feet of such glorious and heroic adventurers as LaSalle and Tonty, such zealous and self-sacrificing ministers of heaven as Marquette and Allouez, such rollicking wild men as Perrot and La Taupine; but most picturesque, most romantic, most poetic of all who in the old French days came to the foot of Hoosier Slide were the hardy, agile, fearless, careless bushrangers called coureurs de bois—rovers of the forest—whose vagabond journeys took them to every nook and cranny of the wilderness in their ceaseless quest for furs. Inured to incredible toils, approximating the savage in habit, piercing the thick woods and threading devious streams, on foot or in birchen canoes, they made the forests echo with their joyous chansons as they pursued their way, and at nightfall,—

"Worn with the long day's march and the chase of the deer and the bison,
Stretched themselves on the ground, and slept where the quivering firelight
Flashed on their swarthy cheeks, and their forms wrapped up in their blankets."

CHAPTER TWO.

The Approach of the Flag.

The accession of the British was far from satisfactory to the redskins and those of LaPorte county and vicinity continued to find plenty to interest them at the little fort on the St. Joseph. In the first step of the new occupancy trouble was encountered, for when Major Robert Rogers came west to take possession of the posts in the fall of 1760, after the Montreal capitulation, he was halted near the western end of Lake Erie by no less a personage than Pontiac. "What business have the English soldiers here," sternly demanded the distinguished Ottawa chief, "and how do they dare to enter my territory without my permission?" The officer was crafty and prudent and replied that he had no design against the red men but had come to remove the French, whose lies had been the means of preventing mutual friendship and commerce between the tribes and the English. The little army, which was the first body of British soldiery that ever entered this western region, was permitted to pass and to occupy Detroit and the other posts tributary thereto. If Pontiac's asseverations that he and his people were friendly to the new lords of the land were not mere pretensions his amiability soon began to change under the influence of secret agents of the French and because of the sullen and domineering temper of the English themselves, for it was not long until he was reporting to an Indian council that the Great Spirit had appeared to a Delaware chief and said:—"Why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and then, when you are in distress, I will help you." At the same time Pontiac exhibited a war belt and said that it had been sent to him by the French king in Paris, who had ordered him to drive the redcoats out and make ready for the return of the French.

Simulating content with the British rule Pontiac all through 1762 was secretly organizing a powerful red confederacy with the purpose of crushing at one dreadful blow the power of the English in the west. The great scheme was skilfully projected and cautiously matured. In erecting his unwieldy fabric of scarcely governable savages Pontiac was indefatigable, patient and persevering, and he visited the tribes wherever they were at home. He summoned councils and was crafty, insinuating and persuasive in his eloquent presentation of the great purpose to overthrow the rule of the scarlet coats. Because of the danger of spies in the vicinity of Fort St. Joseph he called the Indians near there to meet in secluded spots, and as he journeyed to the villages at the end of the lake by way of Trail creek it may be that such a council was held one night on its banks. The tribes dwelling between the Kankakee and the lake united their destinies with his and entered into the alliance he proposed.

Nine tribes and parts of some others received instructions to act in May. The

plan was to make simultaneous attacks on all the forts and posts occupied by British garrisons west of Presq' Isle, on Lake Erie. This was done; May and June, 1763, were bloody months in the west. May 8 Detroit was invested. Then in rapid succession, beginning May 16 and ending June 22, nine posts were taken and destroyed, in most instances with accompaniments of fiendish massacre, and more than a hundred English traders located on the border, some with families, were killed and scalped. The forts at Sandusky, Ohio; St. Joseph, Michigan; Miami and Ouiatenon, Indiana; Michillimacinac, Le Boeuf, Venango and Presq'Isle fell before the attack of Pontiac's copper-colored allies in the order named, while Forts Pitt and Niagara made successful resistance. Pottawattomie Indians from the Trail creek and St. Joseph regions participated in the savage rioting at Detroit, St. Joseph, Miami and Ouiatenon. But for the treachery of one of his own followers Pontiac would have taken Detroit early in May and could then have thrown his entire force upon Niagara and Pitt with a certainty of success, thus sweeping the country west of the mountains clear of every vestige of British authority. The besiegers were driven from before Detroit late in July and the great conspiracy fell to pieces.

Lieutenant Schlosser, of the King's Own, commanded Fort St.Joseph and had a garrison of fourteen men. He had marched with a detachment as far as the Chicago river, by way of Trail creek, and probably conducted the first expedition of English soldiers that ever passed that way. May 25, soon after he had learned of the situation at Detroit but before the comprehensive purpose of the redskins was known, a large party of Pottawattomies sent out from Pontiac's army at Detroit appeared before the stronghold on the St. Joseph, saying: "We are come to see our relatives and wish them good morning." A cry was suddenly heard in the barracks; "in about two minutes" Schlosser was seized and eleven out of the fourteen soldiers were massacred. The fort was not greatly damaged and was shortly reoccupied because of its importance as the key to the Sac trail and the trail to the head of the lake through the Trail creek valley. Again in the following year Pontiac carried his crusade to the Indians along these trails and over into the Illinois country, telling them that if they hesitated to join him in a new effort against the English he "would consume their tribes as fire consumes the dry grass on the prairies," but it was in vain. He was murdered at Cahokia by an Indian, seeking revenge for which the Pottawattomies swept down from the lake and the tragedy of Starved Rock ensued. The French on the Illinois, hopeless of holding their position, advised their red friends to join hands with the English and the Pottawattomies were willing to do so.

Discouraged by the failure of Pontiac's conspiracy many tribes, including the Potawattomies, sued for peace with the English and in the summer of 1764 a treaty was negotiated on terms favorable to the whites, one condition providing for the erection and maintaining of forts in the Indian country. In April following another treaty was made with the western tribes, in which an effort was made to establish a boundary beyond which there should be no English settlement, the line proposed by the Indians being that along the Ohio and Susquehanna rivers. In October, 1768, the important treaty of Fort Stanwix was arranged, fixing the Indian boundary more specifically on the Alleghany and Susquehanna river line. This treaty is especially interesting locally because in it there was granted to the English certain lands

in Pennsylvania which were, Nov. 3, 1768, deeded to a company of traders and named Indiana, the first use of that name. On this treaty the title to Kentucky, western Virginia and western Pennsylvania largely rests.

For two-thirds of a century, until Michigan City was mapped and inhabited, the whites steadily, irresistibly, and often by the practice of fraud and force, surged westward in an ever-increasing tide,

TOLEDO-MICHIGAN CITY CANAL

driving the Fort Stanwix line mile by mile to Lake Michigan, while the red men resisted with slowly waning strength. The borders ran with blood and glowed with flame, but the inexorable movement was scarcely checked. Far out in the forests of the Wabash, Maumee and St. Joseph of the lake garrisons were kept at the posts established by the French and about these posts the traffic of the traders was carried on with much enterprise. The English traders, like the French before them and the Americans after, were required to have licenses which entitled them to protection. Even before the Revolution the land companies were greedy for the soil and did not cease their begging for grants. Among the foremost land speculators of that time was Washington, whose campaigns and explorations in the west had given him a high opinion of the richness of the country and who engaged in correspondence with European parties with reference to the colonization of about 33,000 acres patented to him for his services in the French and Indian war. "Indeed," says James H. Perkins in his "Annals of the West," "had not the Revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would, in all probability, have become the leading settler of the west, and all our history, perhaps, have been changed."

The war came, and though the battle fields were in the east the echoes of the struggle were heard even on the banks of

Trail creek. At first the colonies attempted to keep the Indians out of the contest, but the British sought persistently to enlist their sympathies and their tomahawks and the congress decided to take the advice of Washington and employ the savages in active warfare. The commander-in-chief was authorized to accept the red men in his armies, to use them as he pleased and to offer them rewards for prisoners. The British went further and offered rewards for scalps, fixing a higher prize for them than for prisoners. Many of the western tribes, including our Pottawattomies, espoused the cause of King George and traveled far to fight his battles. To influence these alliances civilian and military agents of the British were constantly in motion on all the trails and, with Fort St. Joseph as headquarters in these parts, some of them passed around the end of the lake through the site of Michigan City, among them, doubtless, the infamous renegades Simon Girty and Col. McKee. No American was knowingly permitted to penetrate thus far into the interior. Going forth from this region to fight and returning again to recuperate, the copper-colored warriors of the lake tribes had many tales to tell of their prowess in battle and probably many stories were related in the Pottawattomie wigwams on or near our creek.

But even in this distant quarter more than one blow was struck against the tenure of the British and the later achievements of Clark at Vincennes were foreshadowed. Living at Cahokia there was a restless adventurer by the name of Thomas Brady, then called "Monsieur Tom" and afterwards, when he became sheriff of an Illinois county, "Tom Brady," who conceived the notion of driving the redcoats back to Canada or of robbing the post—the motive is not exactly clear—and who found sixteen similarly-minded men, chiefly French, who were ready to follow his lead. Early in October, 1777, this little company marched up to Fort St. Joseph one night, having come by the old Sac trail, and took the stronghold by surprise. A negro slave belonging in the fort was accidentally killed in the assault, but the garrison of twenty-one regular soldiers fell into captivity without harm and readily gave the parole demanded of them. The Illinois patriots, if such they were, took the stores of the garrison and a considerable amount of merchandise belonging to traders, burned or distributed among the Indians what they could not carry away, and wantonly set fire to the stockade and buildings. Then they hurried off by the Trail creek path to make their escape. The paroled soldiers hastened after them, picking up such red men as they could en route, and at the crossing of the Calumet, near its mouth, overtook the Brady party and defeated it in a hot fight. Two of the Illinoisans were killed, two wounded, one escaped into the woods and twelve were carried back to the little fort as prisoners with Brady himself. They were sent to Canada, where Brady escaped, the others remaining in prison two years. In the next summer Paulette Meillet, or Maillet, a French trader living near the site of Peoria, recruited a force of three hundred French, Indians and half-breeds whom he led by the Kankakee route to the same ill-fated fort, which he captured and looted and set on fire. This party carried away supplies valued at fifty thousand dollars, after distributing a portion among the Indians of the locality to ensure a safe retreat. La Balme's fatal expedition in 1780 to Fort Miami, near the site of Fort Wayne, having the capture of Detroit in view, was another attempt to harass the English in this section of the country.

Once again, on a midwinter day, near the end of January, 1781, the Trail creek

Pottawattomies were the wondering and profiting witnesses to an attack on Fort St. Joseph; but in this case the personnel and the motive of the invaders differed greatly from those of the former forays. This time the flaunting red cross of the stockade went down before the banners of Spain and a new sovereignty was declared. It was a new assertion of Spain's ancient claim to the great central basin grounded on the first discoveries in the hemisphere, beginning with those of Columbus, and the explorations of De Soto in the Mississippi valley. Spain and England were at war. England was apparently about to lose in the American war. Treaties of peace were shortly to be made. In order to lay the grounds for a goodly share in the apportionment of the American continent in the prospective treaties Spain caused Cruvat, commanding at St. Louis, to send Don Eugenio Pourre with sixty-five militiamen, about half Spanish and half French, with sixty Indians, on a midwinter march from St. Louis to Fort St. Joseph. It was the first and only time a Spanish force ever marched through Illinois, Indiana or Michigan territory. It was a desperate adventure, considering the weather, the roads and the nature of the land they penetrated, and the way had to be bought from English-loving Indians, but it was achieved and the garrison, with whom were gathered a few traders, were wonderfully surprised and easily captured as prisoners of war. Captain Pourre lowered the English ensign and raised the Spanish colors, taking possession in the name of his Most Catholic Majesty and including in his assertion of sovereignty the entire region of the middle west. E. G. Mason, who has written at length of this episode in his "Illinois Sketches," says of Charles IV, Spain's weakling king, "He was the sixth sovereign who had borne sway there, if we include in the list LaSalle and Pontiac, who in truth were kinglier men than any of the others."

Resting a few days and dividing among the surrounding Indians such of the stores as he could not bear away, Don Eugenio marched back to St. Louis, carrying the British flag and leaving his own flying at the masthead over the fort. When Franklin, in Europe, heard of this exploit he was somewhat disturbed over the possible outcome, but, with the help of Jay and Adams, he was able to end the Spanish pretensions to territorial rights east of the Mississippi.

September 3, 1783, by the treaty of Paris terminating the Revolution, the valley of Trail creek and the site of Michigan City became legally American soil. The feeble assertions of Spanish rights were occasionally heard until the treaty of October 27, 1795, negotiated by Thomas Pinckney, gave it its quietus. Not until the close of the war of 1812 did Great Britain abandon the hope of regaining this magnificent western territory. Had it not been for the success of the dare-devil expedition to Vincennes of George Rogers Clark, ("The Hannibal of the West," Dunn calls him) in the winter of 1778-9 Great Britain probably would have retained that territory by the treaty of peace. Few Americans dreamed of the golden future of the region between the lakes and the Ohio, and it was said in congress that a hundred years would elapse before it could be made available for settlement. But the borderers knew, and they never ceased to edge forward, little by little, into the Indian country. The frontier kept pushing doggedly west and the American flag was approaching the southeast shore of Lake Michigan. Twenty years after the close of the Revolution the stars and stripes were seen at the mouth of Trail creek.

By sucessive treaties at Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784; Fort McIntosh, Jan-

uary 21, 1785; the Great Miami, January 31, 1786, and Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, the limit between the white and red population was forced west until by the treaty last named it was established on a line running from the mouth of the Cuyahoga (where Cleveland is now) southwesterly by specified streams and portages to the mouth of the Great Miami (where the eastern Indiana boundary strikes the Ohio), and one after another the fertile valleys of Ohio's tributaries east of that line were subjected to the plow. The Pottawattomies and Sacs of the lake region joined in the negotiations at Fort Harmar and by section 14 of the treaty there concluded they were received "into the friendship and protection" of the United States and "a league of peace and amity" was established between them respectively. Windigo, Wapaskea and Neque were the Pottawattomies who signed this document in behalf of the tribe.

In the meantime, while the dispossession of the Indians was going forward, the federal government was also quieting its title to the same territory as against the conflicting claims of the several states whose vague western bounds seemed to include parts of it. At that time it was uncertain whether Trail creek was in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts or Virginia. As the states were held together quite loosely under the articles of confederation and either of them might cast off the lines at any time and become independent of the rest it was desired by each one that its boundaries should be clearly defined and that its territory should be as large as possible. The government, on the other hand, recognizing the western lands as a valuable source of income, desired to fix the title in itself. New York was the first to yield and by an act of 1780, concluded by a deed the next year, she ceded her western claims to the congress. Following New York in 1780 and completing the cession in 1786, Connecticut relinquished her claims, retaining the Western Reserve in Ohio. Massachusetts completed her conveyance in 1785. Virginia, whose claims were regarded as the most valid, resolved in 1781 to cede to the United States all her territory northwest of the Ohio river and this resolve was made effective by a deed executed March 1, 1784, by Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Arthur Lee and Samuel Hardy, who were duly authorized for that purpose. Thus, subject only to the admitted titles of the Indians, the United States acquired undisputed sovereignty over the region which soon came to be known as the Northwest Territory, comprising all of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and that portion of Minnesota east of the Mississippi. The eastern half of Ohio was pretty well settled by Americans. A few hundred hardy American pioneers were located among the French habitans of Detroit, the forks of the Maumee (now Fort Wayne), Ouiatenon (near Lafayette), Vincennes and Kaskaskia. The British still held the forts at Detroit and on the Maumee, over the protests of the federal government and in contravention of the treaty of Paris, but Fort St. Joseph seems not to have been occupied after the Spanish raid. A thin line of traders ran out from Detroit to the head of Lake Michigan, with a post at the old Fort St. Joseph, where a religious mission was maintained quite regularly, and a trading house at the Chicago river established July 4, 1779, by Baptiste Point de Saible, a San Domingan negro. Traders passed frequently along the old Sac trail and along the Trail creek path, but of soldiers there were none at this period, and of missionaries there were few.

The extension of federal jurisdiction over the territory raised at once the necessity for some form of government

and, after a preliminary act in 1785, the great and wise ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was enacted July 13, 1787. Of this great charter Theodore Roosevelt, in "The Winning of the West," has said:—

"This anti-slavery compact was the most important feature of the ordinance, yet there were many other features only less important. In truth the ordinance of 1787 was so wide-reaching in its effects, was drawn in accordance with so lofty a morality and such far-seeing statesmanship, and was fraught with such weal for the nation, that it will ever rank among the foremost of American state papers, coming in that little group which includes the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington's Farewell Address, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and Second Inaugural. It marked out a definite line of orderly freedom along which the new states were to advance. It laid deep the foundation for that system of widespread public education so characteristic of the Republic and so essential to its healthy growth. It provided that complete religious freedom and equality which we now accept as part of the order of nature, but which were then unknown in any important European nation. It provided for an indissoluble Union, a Union which should grow until it could relentlessly crush nullification and secession; for the states founded under it were the creatures of the nation, and were by the compact declared forever inseparable from it."

This noble statute gave to Michigan City in after years the system of public schools now enjoyed, the exemption from negro slavery and from taxation for the support of religious institutions now taken as a matter of course, and formed the basis of the earliest government. It marked out the lines along which the flag approached every part of the territory and made that victorious march of Old Glory possible. October 5, 1787, General Arthur St. Clair was appointed by the congress to be the first governor of the Northwest Territory, with the capital at Marietta, Ohio, and there, a year later, the first territorial laws were enacted, the first court was held, and the administration of civil government became effective. These proceedings greatly stimulated immigration and the red denizens of the forests were thrust back more insistently than ever. Down the Ohio and across from Kentucky, up Lake Erie and over from Canada, came first the skirmishers and then the main body of those who were hungry for the vast and fertile vacant spaces in the Indian lands. The day of the backwoodsman was come in Indiana. The red men, inspired by their own reluctance to give up their hunting-grounds and incited and armed by the British on the north and the Spanish on the south, held him back, but he marched on, over the dead and scalped bodies of his neighbors and through the hot ashes of their frontier homes, and even the government could not restrain him from crossing the treaty boundary. He sneaked over the line in defiance of law and loudly demanded an army when the rightful proprietors of the soil sought to dispossess him.

After St. Clair had carved the Northwest Territory into counties, of which this region was once a part of Knox and again of Wayne, Ohio was cut off as a state in 1802. The remainder of the territory became, May 7, 1800, the territory of Indiana, of which William Henry Harrison was appointed governor in the next year, having served as territorial secretary and first representative in congress. Brant's attempts to coalesce the northwestern Indians against the Americans failed, in spite of active British support, and other similar plots encouraged by such renegades as Elliott, McKee, Simon Girty and Pat Hill met early disaster, although the Indians were able to inflict punishment on

the armies of Harmar and St. Clair. But ever the settlements moved west. August 20, 1794, near the present city of Fort Wayne, General Anthony Wayne, called "Mad Anthony" by his white comrades of the army and "The Blacksnake" by the Indians, who feared him, fought victoriously in a bloody battle against the Miamis, Pottawattomies and other tribes and forced them to sue for peace. He built Fort Wayne, sent a detachment as far as the St. Joseph river to cut a road that was long called the Dragoon Trace, and called the reds to a council at Greenville, where the treaty known by that name was signed August 3, 1795. He operated within pistol shot of a British fort on the Maumee commanded by General Simcoe and threatened to destroy that position. The great council at Greenville was in session five weeks and the treaty there concluded was of vast importance in the west. It carried the Indian boundary over into Indiana in the southern half of its course, ceded large tracts of land to the government and sixteen smaller tracts at points occupied or to be occupied for military purposes, including six miles square at Chicago, assured unhindered passage between the posts through the Indian country, including the route to Chicago, made more favorable provisions for trading, and established the means of ensuring peace. Eighteen Pottawattomies of the St. Joseph signed the document, among them being Thupenibu (Topinabee) and Sugganunk (Soggance), who lived near Trail creek. The minutes of the council show that forty Pottawattomies arrived at Greenville from Lake Michigan June 17, 1795, with the venerable chief New Corn at their head, who announced his arrival in the following formal speech addressed to General Wayne:—

AN OLD VIEW FROM HOOSIER SLIDE

"I have come here on the good work of peace. No other motive could have

induced me to undertake so long a journey as I have now performed, in my advanced age and infirm state of health, I come from Lake Michigan. I hope, after our treaty is over, you will exchange our old medals, and supply us with General Washington's. My young men will no longer adhere to the old ones—they wish for the new. They have thrown off the British, and, henceforth, will view the Americans as their only true friends. We come with a good heart, and hope you will supply us with provisions."

July 23, in council, he said:—

"Elder brother: Had you seen me in former days you would have beheld a great and brave chief, but now I am old and burdened with the weight of years. * * * My nation consists of one thousand men, who live at and between Detroit and Lake Michigan. We have the Miamis for our allies, and we mutually assist each other. I am by birth a Sac; I married a Pottawattomie, and have resided among them. Twenty-three chiefs of that nation are inferior to me in command."

This self-appreciative savage made one further speech, August 8, which is quoted for the information it contains as well as for the glimpse of character:

"The Great Spirit has made me a great chief and endowed me with great powers. The heavens and earth are my heart, the rising sun my mouth, and, thus favored, I propagate my own species. I know the people who have made and violated former treaties. I am too honorable and brave a man to be guilty of such conduct. I love and fear the Great Spirit. He now hears what I say. I dare not tell a lie. Now, my friend, the great Wind (meaning Wayne), do not deceive us in the manner that the French, the British, and the Spanish have heretofore done; they have made us promises which they never fulfilled; they have proved to us how little they have ever had our happiness at heart; and we have severely suffered, for placing our dependence on so faithless a people."

The influence gained over the savages under this treaty was such that the English did not think it profitable to hold the western posts longer and they were surrendered in the following summer. The rapid approach of civilization to the southeast shore of Lake Michigan following Wayne's victory and treaty brought into increased use several later trails leading to the mouth of Trail creek. One of these was the forest and prairie path from the Ouiatenon settlement, now Lafayette, which gave communication with Vincennes; another led from the Eel river villages and came in after years to be known as the Yellow river road; a third was from the head of the lake by an inside route through the Calumet marshes, and the last, by connecting the Sac trail at Bootjack with the South Bend portage and the Dragoon Trace, made the route to Fort Wayne. The fact that these well-traveled ways converged at the mouth of our creek gives ample ground for the inference that the spot was a center of considerable activity in the dealings with the Indians, but whatever record there may be of the occurrences here at that period is still sleeping under the accumulated dust of old archives. There was an Indian village near the junction of the Sac and Lafayette trails, near Westville; another near the union of the Sac and Trail creek paths, near Bootjack, called Grand Quoit; another, probably, close to the Yellow river trail not far from Springville, and a trading post called the little fort, at the head of Fort creek, which thereby obtained its name. William Burnett, at the time of the Greenville council, had for at least ten years kept a considerable trading establishment on the St. Joseph, near Niles, and de Saible was still at Chicago, though in 1796 he sold out to another negro named Le Mai. Burnett was the first American who traded regularly on Trail creek. He came into the country as an English trader in 1769 and was

located on the St. Joseph prior to 1785. He married Kaw-kee-me, sister of Topinabee, the great Pottawattomie chief of this district whose son of the same name was in LaPorte county when the first white settlers came. When Canada was lost to the British Burnett was also lost, for he then became a good American and so remained until his death about the close of the war of 1812, throughout which his loyalty was unshaken. De Saible, "a handsome negro, well educated and settled at Eschikagou; but much in the French interest," as Colonel DePeyster said of him in 1779, was a refugee from San Domingo in the stormy times of the eighteenth century, who drifted to the lake and tried, but without success, to secure his adoption and election as chief in the Pottawattomie tribe. He traded as far as to the St. Joseph for seventeen years, then moved to Peoria to die. One who knew him said he was a large man, that he had a commission for some office, that "he was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely." Bertrand, for whom a town in Berrien county, Michigan, is named, and John Kinzie, the "Father of Chicago," were doing business on the St. Joseph and through this region in 1803.

Greenville was followed by more than a dozen years of peace, barring an occasional border outrage by savages. The reservation of land for a fort at the mouth of the Chicago river, included in that treaty, was made in accordance with well considered plans formulated by the war department, in which it had been definitely decided that a garrison should be stationed at that place rather than at the old position on the St. Joseph. August 24, 1798, the trader Burnett wrote to Parker, Girard & Ogilvy at Montreal from his trading house on the St. Joseph as follows:

"In the course of last winter I wrote you that it is expected that there will be a garrison at Chicago this summer, and from later accounts, I have reason to expect that they will be over there this fall; and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, and a promise of assistance from headquarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors, and some other articles for that post. Wherefore, should there be a garrison at Chicago this fall, I will write for an addition of articles to my order."

This was the period, however, when Jefferson's prejudices against the army and navy were supreme and the country did not have soldiers enough to meet even the desultory Indian campaigns that had to be undertaken. After Wayne's battle on Indiana soil the army was reduced to 3,200 men, all told, and the navy was abolished until the Mediterranean pirates forced its reorganization in a series of movements culminating in a war in which the father of Charles Cathcart, one of the dominant figures in the early history of LaPorte county, figured prominently. It was not until the spring of 1803 that General Dearborn, the secretary of war, was able to find men for the projected post at the Chicago river. He then detailed Captain John Whistler for the enterprise. Captain Whistler left Detroit on the schooner Tracy and sailed to the mouth of the St. Joseph, while his command of sixty men, led by Lieutenant James S. Swearingen, marched across the country and met him at that point. The captain then sent the schooner on with its load of supplies and material and made the remainder of the voyage with his family in canoes, the lieutenant and soldiers continuing on foot. Late in July, after a very difficult march of about two months through the wilderness, in which several of the men lost their lives, the command reached the mouth of Trail creek and encamped, the captain quite likely joining them there with his wife and two sons, George and Lieutenant

William Whistler, the latter with his young bride whom he had wedded as they were departing from Detroit. It is interesting to think that one of the two first white women to stop at the site of Michigan City was a bride. From this family came the great artist, James McNeill Whistler, the son of George, who, then three years old, became a world-renowned engineer. The party went on to its destination and at 11:45 in the forenoon of August 16 Lieutenant Swearingen drove a spade into the earth and started the work of erecting Fort Dearborn. When the soldiers arrived there were near the mouth of the Chicago only four cabins, those of LeMai, the negro, Ouilmette, Pettell and another, who were French halfbreeds with Indian wives, all of whom were traders in the region between there and the St. Joseph. A great many Indians had gathered on the shore to view with wonder the "big canoe with wings," for the Tracy was the first vessel larger than a pirogue that had navigated the south part of the lake.

This was the first body of American soldiers that had ever entered the present limits of LaPorte county, or any part of this entire region, and they bore the first American flag that was seen in this section of the west. The emblem of sovereignty of the United States had passed through the spot where Michigan City is now seated and was planted on the western side.

CHAPTER THREE.

Preparing the Way.

The impossibility of exercising the administrative and judicial functions of government in the Northwest Territory as it was organized at the beginning of the last century led to an investigation in congress, and to a report, March 3, 1800, which said that "the immunity which offenders experience, attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society;" and further that "this territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper government, or so little dread of its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly uncertain and ambiguous." A division of the Territory was recommended and, by act of May 7, adopted, with the following provisions, among others:—

"That from and after the 4th day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north, until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory. And that St. Vincennes, on the Wabash river, shall be the seat of government for the Indiana Territory."

Of this immense district, bounded by Ohio, Canada, and the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, Harrison was appointed governor and the administrative wheels were set in motion. He was instructed, as St. Clair had been before him, to use a pacificatory policy with the Indians, but to neglect no opportunity to extinguish the Indian titles, and he entered promptly, vigorously and with much success into the work of benevolent assimilation of the tribes. Settlers were invited by the terms of a law of 1799, for which Harrison was responsible, permitting the purchase of government lands in tracts of half a section or more at two dollars per acre on long credit.

The sale of liquor to Indians and the pressure by the inhabitants of the Illinois country for a further division of the Territory were public questions of great moment at that time, but the leading topic was slavery. There was a determined effort, commencing as early as 1796 and increasing in vigor as soon as Indiana Territory had a legislature, to accomplish the repeal of the section of the ordinance of 1787 preventing the introduction of slavery in the northwest, first as a whole and then in part or for a limited time. The indenture law of 1807 was an opening wedge which might have served to make Indiana a slave state for many years, but the entire issue culmin-

ated and was settled by the repeal of that law in December, 1810, by the third general assembly ever held on Indiana soil. The repeal passed the house without difficulty, but in the council the vote was a tie and the president, James Beggs, gave the deciding vote. The late Mrs. Susan Armstrong of LaPorte wrote of this fact a few years ago, saying: "My father being president of the council gave the casting vote which made Indiana a free state; for which I say, God bless James Beggs!" This exhibition of filial pride was justified by the importance of the vote. The same James Beggs, father of Mrs. Armstrong, is memorable also because he, in a memorial against slavery in 1807, gave the first known expression of the theory of "squatter sovereignty," so dubbed by Calhoun when General Cass, forty years later, announced the view that slavery was a question to be settled in legislatures and not in congress.

In this period the administration of the District of Louisiana, then just purchased, was given for a year to the governor and judges of Indiana, who exercised jurisdiction over the region in which Michigan City now is. On January 24, 1803, Wayne county was created out of the lands east of a north and south line through the western extreme of Lake Michigan, and north of an east and west line through the southern extreme of the same; and by act of congress of January 11, 1805, the same tract was cut off from Indiana and erected into a territory named Michigan. Having been under the dominion of France, England and Spain; having, under American sovereignty, been claimed by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia; having been a part of the Northwest Territory and of Indiana Territory and bound up for administrative purposes with Louisiana; and having escaped the destiny of being located in a state bearing Jefferson's whimsical name of Metropotamia, as he proposed in 1785, the region watered by Trail creek fell within the Territory of Michigan, with the capital at Detroit, and so continued until, pursuant to the constitution of June 29, 1816, Indiana was admitted as a state by congressional resolution of December 11, the same year, the state government having actually commenced on November 7.

Michigan City did not pass back into Indiana without a struggle. It had received its municipal charter before a decision was ultimately and definitely reached taking it out of the jurisdiction of Michigan. The question on which the matter rested arose with the framing of the ordinance of 1787, became virulent when Ohio was granted statehood in 1802, culminated in the "Toledo War" of 1835, and sank peacefully into its final sleep with a resolution of the Michigan legislature in 1842. The controversy was originally between Ohio and Michigan, whose governors fiercely paraded troops in a bloodless opera bouffe war on one occasion, and it involved Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin in its complexities. It was a curious instance of the assertion of the principle of state rights at a time when the forces of nationalization were working among the people. Had Michigan maintained its cause the northern boundary of Indiana would today start at the southern extreme of the lake and run due east, through the northern parts of Chesterton and LaPorte and the southern parts of Goshen and Angola and with Michigan City, South Bend, Mishawaka and Elkhart north of it in Michigan. The name our city bears, given it during the height of this boundary contest, is thus seen to be entirely appropriate.

In the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory provision was made for

the division of the territory into not less than three nor more than five states and the eastern, southern and western boundaries of what are now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were fixed, following which the ordinance proceeded:—

"Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan."

At that time the geographical knowledge of this region was very hazy and congress, relying on Mitchell's map of 1755, supposed that the line described would terminate eastwardly north of Lake Erie and not far below Detroit. That congress did not regard itself as irrevocably bound by the divisions of the ordinance is shown by the fact that it departed from its own lines in 1800 when Indiana Territory was set off from Ohio, for the division between Ohio and Indiana was formed by a line which ran from Canada due south to Fort Recovery and then angled toward the west, whereas the ordinance declared that it should run south all the way to the river, as it does now. But soon Wayne county, Ohio, was created, comprising all that part lying north of the east and west ordinance line and east of the north and south line, being now the eastern half, approximately, of the southern Michigan peninsula. By the enabling act of April 30, 1802, the first of its kind ever passed, congress authorized the inhabitants of Ohio to frame a constitution with a view to statehood, and prescribed the ordinance line for the boundary of the proposed new state. Accordingly a constitutional convention was called and assembled at Chillicothe, the then capital, November 1. While the convention was deliberating a man who had hunted and trapped many years in the Trail creek, Calumet and Kankakee regions chanced to be in Chillicothe, and he told one of the members with whom he talked that Lake Michigan extended much further south than was supposed and that the map he had seen (doubtless the same map of Mitchell's) placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information caused considerable uneasiness, for, if the hunter had stated the truth, the ordinance line would fall below Maumee bay and would cut off from Ohio a large strip of territory which was regarded as exceedingly valuable. The lands along the Maumee river and the strait up to Detroit were very rich and quite well settled and it was important for the new state to control the mouth of the river. The convention, therefore, resolved to guard against the depression of the boundary below the mouth of the Maumee, and in adopting the limits prescribed in the enabling act it added the following proviso:—

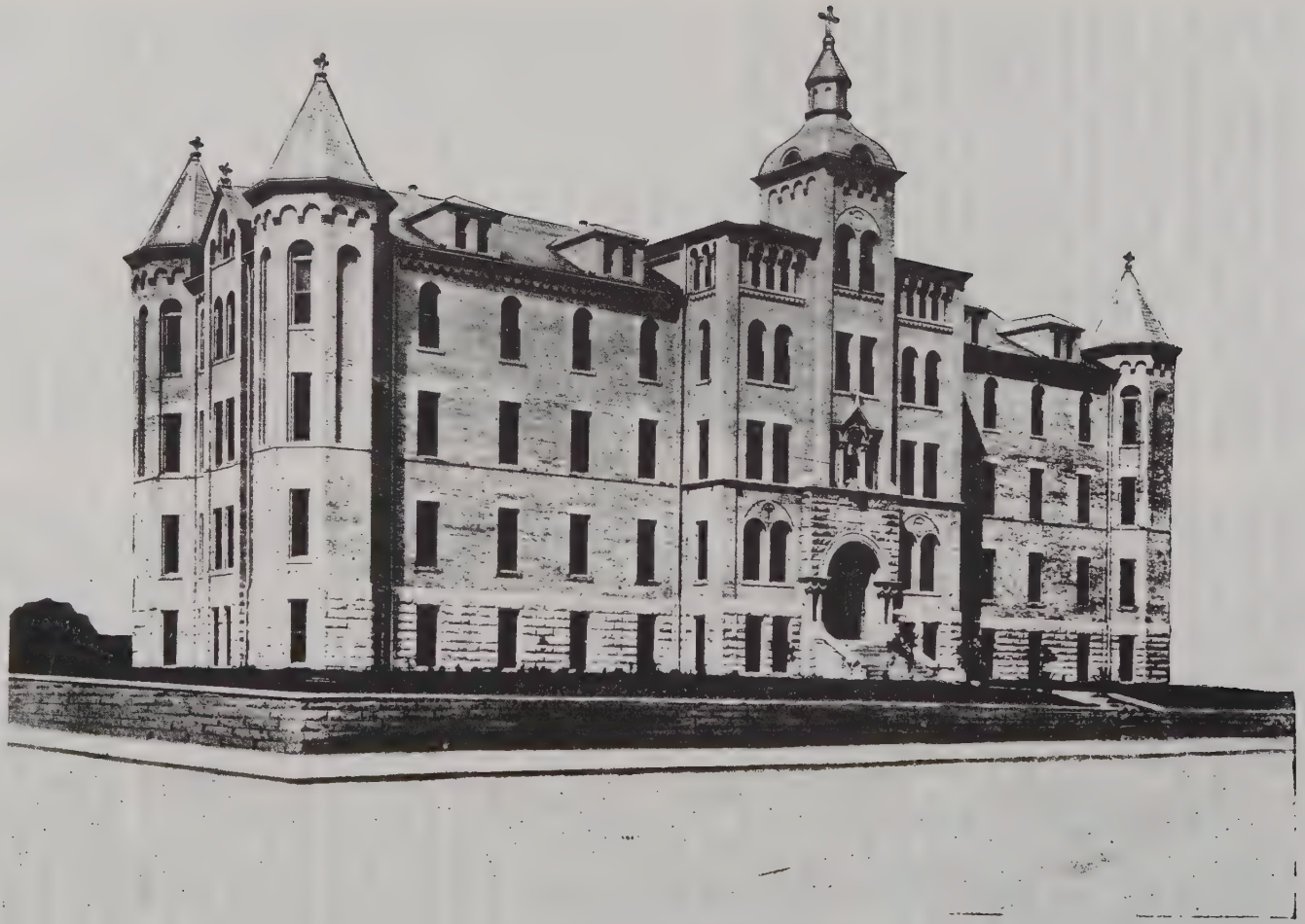
"If the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie east of the Miami (Maumee) river of the lakes, then * * * with the assent of Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this state shall be established by, and extend to a line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami (Maumee) bay, thence northeast, etc."

With this proviso the constitution was adopted on November 29 and was submitted to congress, which admitted the state but took no action on the proviso; the congressional committee held that it depended on a fact not ascertained, and that it was not submitted as were other proposals of the convention, and so de-

clined to consider it. Ohio's protecting cloak of statehood left Wayne county out in the cold, and the people protested warmly; but the new state as it stood was for Jefferson and there was danger that by adding Wayne county it would stand in the federal column, a thing which Jefferson did not want. General St. Clair indignantly exclaimed that to win a state for Jefferson the people of Wayne county had been "bartered away like sheep in a market." Wayne county was then attached to Indiana Territory and in 1803 a new county bearing the same name was formed, comprising practically all of the present southern peninsula, but with the ordinance line for the southern boundary precisely as Ohio did not wish, and a line drawn due north and south through the western extreme of the lake for the western boundary. This placed the newly-established Fort Dearborn, with a large surrounding area, in Wayne county. When Michigan Territory was formed in 1805 the western boundary was run through the middle of the lake, while the southern line was unchanged. The inhabitants of the original Wayne county soon saw that it was useless to seek union with Ohio in statehood, so they joined the remainder of the new Wayne county in opposing Ohio's claims to a diagonal line under the proviso.

As soon as the representatives of Ohio appeared in congress they opened a campaign to secure congressional approval of the diagonal proviso line, in support of which Indiana was gradually enlisted, and Michigan opposed them with a bitterness that grew as the population increased. There was much confusion in the disputed district, for Michigan magistrates exercised jurisdiction there and the president appointed a collector in the same place and designated it as a part of Ohio. At last, after very many efforts, Ohio obtained a committee report in congress directing a survey of the proviso line, but the bill passed with an amendment directing that the line should be run according to the ordinance. This was in 1812, when the country was distracted by war with England and the Indians, and the matter, though constantly urged, was not taken up until in 1816, after the population affected had heavily increased, when the president ordered the act of 1812 to be complied with by the surveyor general of Ohio. That official employed one Harris to perform the work and instructed him to survey a line, not as laid down by the ordinance and specified by congress but according to the Ohio proviso, which was accordingly done. This was the first survey ever made in LaPorte county, where the line runs somewhat north of the ordinance line.

Meanwhile Michigan's troubles were growing, for in the winter of 1815-16, in the movements to bring Indiana in as a state, the question of the disputed boundary became acute in congress as it affected that state. December 14, 1815, the territorial legislature adopted a memorial which, on the 28th, was laid before congress by the territorial delegate, Jonathan Jennings, who had represented the territory ably since 1809 and was fully apprised of all the steps and points in the boundary contest. The memorial asked for authority to meet in convention to organize as a state. Jennings, with the Ohio members and the Illinois delegate assisting, was strong enough to resist the Michigan demands for a boundary on the ordinance line. Jennings was chairman of the committee to which the Indiana memorial was referred and January 5, in only a week, he was enabled to report a bill with the line where he wanted it. From then until April 19, when a passage was won, all of the familiar expedients were employed to get the ordinance boundary into the bill in



ST. ANTHONY'S HOSPITAL

lieu of the one the Hoosiers wished. As the entire boundary of the state was specified in the enabling act, ratified by the constitutional convention, approved by congress in the act of admission and stands now in the constitution of 1851, section 1 of Article XIV, it is thus described:—

In order that the boundaries of the State may be known and established, it is hereby ordained and declared, that the State of Indiana is bounded, on the East, by the meridian line, which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio; on the South by the Ohio river, from the mouth of the Great Miami River to the mouth of the Wabash River; on the West by a line drawn along the middle of the Wabash River, from its mouth to a point where a due north line, drawn from the town of Vincennes, would last touch the northwestern shore of said Wabash River; and thence by a due north line, until the same shall intersect an east and west line, drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan; on the North, by said east and west line, until the same shall intersect the first-mentioned meridian line, which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio.

Inasmuch as the ten-mile strip thus carved out of Michigan Territory contained in 1816 less than a dozen settled whites, all traders, it cannot be said that the voting power of that population was a consideration; but the donation to Indiana of a coast line, with its possibilities of commerce and of canal terminals and its possible connection by road with the waters of the Ohio, was supposed to appeal to all the people of the state as an evidence of the tender care of the national administration for their welfare. Moreover, in the event of a national disruption, Indiana's connection with northern waters would render that state less liable to unite with a western or southern confederacy. Had the Ohio question been closed then the boundary controversy would have been settled for all time as far as the remainder of the disputed limit was concerned. Ohio, however, took the ground that as the state constitution had been approved with the proviso in it, and as the Harris line followed the proviso, the true line had been ascertained and established. Every year the assembly of the state and council of the territory sent up memorials and the halls of congress rang with the quarrel. When Illinois prayed for admission in 1818 an enabling act was reported establishing the northern boundary on the ordinance line, but the delegate, encouraged by Indiana's success in winning to the north, made a fight for still more coast and obtained an amendment giving the new state sixty-one miles of the southern side of Michigan. The governor and judges of Michigan in the same year entered upon the records of congress a formal protest against the dismemberment of their territory. They felt that it was probably too late to remedy the established lines of the admitted states and were really directing their fire upon Ohio, but they said: "We take this way to preserve the just rights of the people of this territory * * * that it may not hereafter be supposed that they have acquiesced in the changes which have been made."

In 1818 also President Monroe, pressed by a special committee from Michigan and advised by a committee of the house, issued an order that the law of 1812 relating to the survey of Ohio's northern boundary should be complied with according to its true intent. Harris declined to do this work and one Fulton undertook it, surveying and marking a line due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan—the ordinance line—this being the second survey made in LaPorte county. The president informed congress March 8, 1820, "that the act of the 20th May, 1812, respecting the northern and western

boundaries of the State of Ohio, has been executed." The Ohio members asked to have the line remarked in harmony with the proviso and were refused, but congress again failed to take definite action by approving the Fulton survey. In 1821 and 1826 certain Indian treaties were made wherein the ordinance or Fulton line was utilized for boundary purposes and Michigan's hope rose somewhat. In 1824 and 1827 efforts were made to erect a territory in the district now known as Wisconsin and a bill was passed in the house forming such a territory and calling it Huron, but Michigan objected so vigorously to the proposed recognition of the northern boundary of Illinois, sixty-one miles above the ordinance limit, that the bill was lost in the senate.

Omitting many motions and counter motions in the two jurisdictions chiefly interested, we come to the act of 1827 directing the survey of the northern boundary of Indiana, a work that had not yet been performed. October 8 of that year E. P. Hendricks commenced where Harris and Fulton did at the southern bend of the lake, followed the shore until he made ten miles northing, then struck due east. He was the first who ever surveyed a line in Michigan City. At the next session of congress a bill was introduced, and failed, to ascertain the latitude of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan "for the purpose of fixing the true northern boundary lines of the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois." And ever the discord grew. A note of threatening began to sound in the chorus of supplication about the time the Erie canal was undertaken, with its commencement at the mouth of the Maumee, and the town of Toledo began to appear. The secretaries of war and of state were drawn in. Memorials went into the congressional hopper thick and fast, but naught came out save reports. Many stormy scenes were enacted in the legislative bodies of Ohio and Michigan; many warm communications were sent to congress; and out of them would grow some such result as is indicated in the following message to congress of President Jackson, dated January 10, 1833:—

"In compliance with the resolution of the House of the 4th instant, requesting to be furnished with such information as the President may possess 'in relation to the survey of the northern boundary of the State of Ohio under the provisions of the act of Congress passed for that purpose on the 14th of July, 1832,' I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War concerning it."

But congress, having already more information on the subject than it was able to assimilate, always dodged the issue. Twice, in 1833 and 1834, Michigan asked in vain for statehood; in 1835 the indomitable Wolverines held a convention, adopted a constitution and demanded admission as of right, showing a population sufficient to meet the requirements for statehood as fixed in the ordinance of 1787. This unauthorized constitution was transmitted to the president, who, December 9, laid it before congress, "to whom," he said in the accompanying message, "the power and duty of admitting new States into the Union exclusively pertains." On the same day he addressed another message to the lawmaking body enclosing a report of the progress made in the astronomical observations relative to the disputed line and saying:—

"The controversy betwen the authorities of the State of Ohio and those of the Territory of Michigan in respect to this boundary assumed about the time of the termination of the last session of Congress a very threatening aspect, and much care and exertion were necessary to preserve the jurisdiction of the Territorial government under the acts of Congress and to prevent a forcible collision

between the parties. The nature and course of the dispute and the measures taken by the Executive for the purpose of composing it will fully appear in the accompanying report from the Secretary of State and the documents therein referred to."

He urged congress to take early action. His measures for composing the trouble seem to have consisted of something like a "Come, boys, please be quiet" admonition. The senate passed a bill establishing the line as Ohio, Indiana and Illinois wanted it, but John Quincy Adams killed it in the house. Senator Tipton of Indiana proposed a division of the debatable ground, which neither party would consider, and another suggestion was that all of the region be given to Ohio with the northern peninsula tacked on to Michigan by way of compensation, but Michigan would not hear to it. Michigan appealed to Virginia to exert the authority retained by the latter in the act of cession and Indiana came near doing so, but thought better of it after the resolution had been adopted by the house. During a number of years the governor and general assembly of Indiana had the controversy constantly before them and a sample record is that of 1835, which goes more fully than any other into the details. In that year the governor's reference to the matter in his annual message was referred to a special committee, which, after stating the subject and its importance, said:—

"A portion of territory ten miles in width, extending across the entire breadth of our northern boundary, embracing a most fertile tract of country, and that part of Lake Michigan which we have been taught to prize as all important to the trade, commerce and agricultural interests of the northern part of the state, and which we have always regarded as properly secured to us by the ordinance of 1787, by the law of Congress authorizing us to form a state government, and by the express acceptance and ratification of the terms of that law by the convention who met to form a government for this state,—has been claimed in positive terms by the territory of Michigan."

The report proceeds to state the grounds of the controversy at length, presenting the arguments of both sides fully, and closes with a series of resolutions as follows:—

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to resist the establishment of the southern boundary of Michigan on a line drawn east and west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; and also that they insist upon the present northern boundary of Indiana, as prescribed in the act of Congress of 1816, providing for her admission to the Union.

"Resolved further as the sense of this General Assembly, That having the fullest confidence in the wisdom and integrity of Congress, this General Assembly cannot believe that any measure will be adopted by that body, which, by seeking to deprive this state of any portion of her territory as secured to her by the aforesaid act of Congress, and the ordinance of the convention of this State ratifying the same, would without the consent of this State thereto obtained, be unauthorized, unconstitutional and void, and only operate as a pretext for further controversy.

"Resolved further, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives required, in the event of the passage of an act of Congress for the formation of a state in the territory of Michigan, to use their exertions to have incorporated in such act a provision restricting the territory of such state from extending south beyond 'an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan.'

"Resolved further, That his Excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit to our Senators and representatives in Congress copies of the foregoing report and resolutions."

Edward A. Hannegan, an intense Hoosier in sympathy and for some years after 1837 a resident of Michigan City, was the representative in congress for the northwestern Indiana district from 1833 to 1837; he was in the senate from 1843 to 1849. George Crawford, builder in 1829 of the first mill at Elkhart, was the only member of the general assembly who lived in the debated strip during the pendency of the dispute. He was elected in 1832, 1837 and three times later. In 1829, while a resident of Elkhart, he was appointed sheriff of Cass county, Michigan, and accepted the office under the supposition that he was an inhabitant of that territory. Governor Cass, the author of the appointment, thus exercised jurisdiction in Indiana as late as that year. When Crawford discovered that he belonged in Indiana he gave his allegiance to that state and in a short time located in LaPorte county and became prominent in its affairs. The people of the strip, influenced by their delegates in the state assembly and in congress, and also because Indiana was already a state and was farther advanced in prosperity than Michigan, were quite generally loyal to Indiana as against the territory. This was likewise true of the Ohio strip.

Ohio enacted a law extending her northern counties to the Harris line and to have that line remarked. Michigan adopted an act to prevent the exercise of foreign jurisdiction within her limits and reasserted her right to reach the ordinance line. In April, 1835, General Brown and a command of territorial troops went into camp at Monroe, near the boundary, and General Bell and his Ohio troops took a position just opposite at Perrysburg. President Jackson hurried two mediators to the scene, who traveled night and day and received little satisfaction when they arrived. Michigan soldiers arrested the Ohio surveyors near Tecumseh. Ohio declared her officers had been attacked and passed a law against kidnaping and appropriated $300,000 to carry out her plans. Michigan proclaimed her intention to resist, "let the attempt be made by whom it may, all efforts to rob her of her soil and trample upon her rights." Both sides dispersed their armies, but mobilized them again September 7, with Toledo as the objective of both, for there the Ohio judges were preparing to hold court. The court was held at midnight and adjourned just as the Michigan troops came up, too late to effect their purpose of preventing the session. This ended the Toledo war, or the Governor Lucas war, and transferred the whole matter to the halls of congress, where it was temporarily disposed of by the enabling act of June 15, 1836. Michigan, "mutilated, humbled and degraded" by this "bill of abomination" compelling her to "sell a portion of her brethren like Joseph into Egypt," and doubting whether it was after all desirable to enter "a Union of gamblers and pickpockets," rejected the prescribed conditions by a large majority in a convention at Ann Arbor in September, but shortly thought better of it and called another convention in December, which has passed into Wolverine history as "the frost-bitten convention" because of its illegality and some incident growing out of the weather during the session. Here the act of congress was assented to, the president was so notified, he transferred the documents to congress, and that body reopened the entire question and threshed over all the old straw, but finally accepted the resolutions of the convention and declared Michigan to be a state January 26, 1837.

John Quincy Adams and Thomas H. Benton were, in the house and senate respectively, stanch friends to Michigan's cause throughout, and the former said, referring on one occasion to an opinion

given by the attorney general on a phase of the case, that it "was perfumed with the thirty-five electoral votes of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois," and at another time he said: "Never in the course of my life have I known a controversy of which all the right was so clearly on one side and all the power so overwhelmingly on the other, where the temptation was so intense to take the strongest side, and the duty of taking the weakest was so thankless."

By the admission as thus accomplished Ohio retained the Harris or proviso line and the northern boundary of Illinois was also permitted to stand as fixed at her admission. In compensation for the loss she was required to sustain Michigan was given the unknown and impenetrable wilderness of the northern peninsula, which she did not at all want but which turned out to be an exceedingly valuable possession. The "frost-bitten" convention, in reversing the work of the one that was held regularly, resolved that congress had no constitutional right to require the assent of the people to a change in boundary as a condition of admission, but, nevertheless, since it was required, it was given "as the interest and prosperity of the State will be greatly advanced by our immediate admission into the Union * * *; and the people of the said State are solicitous to give to her sister States and to the world, unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the tranquility, and harmony of the confederacy, and to perpetuate the unity, liberty and prosperity of the country." Notwithstanding these meek and submissive words, it seems that the underlying thought of the convention was to present the case later before the supreme court for adjudication upon the law, and until 1842, when the riches of the northern region began to grow apparent, the matter was kept before the Michigan legislature and eminent lawyers were consulted as to the method of recovering the lost tract.

From January 11, 1805, to December 11, 1816, a period of eleven years and eleven months, the Trail creek valley was entirely in the territory of Michigan, whose jurisdiction included practically the two peninsulas. William Hull, afterwards discredited as a general, was the first governor, and Stanley Griswold was secretary. Against both the people registered complaints to the president, who, March 1, 1808, referred the matter to congress, but they were not disturbed in office. Both traveled through Michigan City to Fort Dearborn before 1812. Governors Hull and Harrison, acting under instructions, sought diligently from their first appointment to acquire for the government the titles of the original proprietors of the soil and a long series of treaties ensued, the one operating from Detroit, the other from the Wabash, which brought the influences of civilization nearer and nearer to the southern shore of the lake.

While the federal government claimed and exercised sovereignty over the territory of the northwest it admitted that the Indians possessed the right to the soil, the legal title to the land, their only restriction being that the government claimed the sole right to purchase it from them. The problem was to extinguish the aboriginal title and vest it in the United States for disposal to white settlers. This was a tedious and expensive process, accomplished by tribal treaties entered into by representatives of the government and chiefs of tribes. In spite of laws prohibiting settlers from encroaching upon unceded lands there were always hardy and impatient pioneers ahead of the treaties and within the Indian lines without right, their presence there being a just cause of resentment on the part of the red men and a constant source of embarrassment to

the white negotiators. The untutored savage was very wily in the matter of these treaties, being very ready to enter into them and equally ready to crawl out. The Indians would claim that their alleged chiefs acted without authority; that the treaties were not made plain to them; that their young men were made drunk and were then overreached; that the agreements were abrogated by the encroachments of settlers, or that other tribes had assumed to cede the lands of the objectors without right; and too often there was some basis of fact in the averments.

WASHINGTON STREET SOUTH FROM 6th STREET

The Pottawattomies, cunning by nature and grown wise by long contact with Europeans, were indefatigable treaty makers and traveled long distances to be present at treaty councils. Deeds from the western line of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi river and from the Ohio to Michillimackinac bear their scrawled totems. It has been seen that they participated in the first western council, that of Saint Lusson in 1671. They joined in many others during the French and English occupancy and were ever attentive to proposals of friendship from whatever European source; they attended St. Clair's council at Fort Harmar in 1789, which gave the first treaty obtained by the Americans in the northwest, and were at Greenville, which paved the way for the opening of Indiana. Of the forty-four treaties relating to lands in this state this tribe signed more than thirty, an average of over one a year, and Ohio, Michigan and Illinois negotiators had often to deal with them. They liked the festivities with which the negotiations were accompanied, and they liked to share in the liberal payments the government gave for the lands. The century opened auspiciously and for the first half decade, "although some murders by the red men had taken place in the far west, the body of natives seemed bent on peace."

But at Greenville there had been sown

the germs of a union of tribes more ambitious than that of Pontiac, more alluring than that of Brant, and in 1805 it began to show upon the surface. Tecumseh, called by the Encyclopedia Britannica "the greatest of American Indians," was the author of this final effort to confederate the tribes for the purpose of repelling the white invasion. About the middle of the eighteenth century a young girl was made captive in a border foray and was carried away into the west where she was adopted into an Indian family according to the tribal custom and when grown was married to a chief. During her girlhood she never saw a white person and when finally found she was so thoroughly Indianized that she refused to return to civilization when the opportunity was presented. Her brother, as documents preserved in the family tend to prove, became the great grandfather of Ezekiel T. Ice, whose wife is the sister of Mrs. William A. Banks of La Porte, and she herself, according to the same papers, gave birth to triplets, Tecumseh, his brother, the Shawnee Prophet, and another son who remained obscure, about 1768, near the mouth of the Mad river in Ohio. The first two boys grew up with an unconquerable hatred for the white race and during twenty years participated in many of the raids and battles in the region where they lived. Gradually Tecumseh, who was the stronger in every way, formulated his great design and in 1805 began to put it in motion, using the lower talents of his brother for his own purposes. By May, 1807, they had seven hundred warriors encamped near Greenville.

Elkswatawa, the Prophet, pretending to be inspired by the Great Spirit of the Indians, went about preaching a peculiar gospel against witchcraft, intemperance, intermarriage with white women, adoption of the dress and custom of the whites, and the sale of Indian lands by treaty. Tecumseh visited the tribes with talk of war and confederation. The Prophet's arts were those of a successful sorcerer and by accusing dissenting chiefs of witchcraft he brought destruction upon them, even causing them to be burned at the stake where Yorktown now stands, in Delaware county. Hearing of these things Governor Harrison sent the disaffected tribes a warning, in which he said:—

"My children:—Tread back the steps you have taken, and endeavor to regain the straight road which you have abandoned. The dark, crooked, and thorny one which you are now pursuing, will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. Is he more wise or virtuous than you are yourselves, that he should be selected to convey to you the orders of your God? Demand of him some proofs, at least, of his being the messenger of the Deity. If God has really employed him, he has doubtless authorized him to perform some miracles, that he may be known and received as a prophet. If he is really a prophet, ask of him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves. * * * My children:—Do not believe that the great and good Creator of mankind has directed you to destroy your own flesh; and do not doubt but that, if you pursue this abominable wickedness, his vengeance will overtake and crush you."

A year later he again addressed them and said "this business must be stopped. I will no longer suffer it." He told them they were listening to a fool whose words were of the devil and of the British agents. In 1808 the Prophet and his followers removed to what came to be called Prophetstown, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe, and there received numerous accessions from the lake tribes. And so the movement progressed. Tecumseh, meanwhile, was actively engaged in his part of the conspiracy and jour-

neyed to Canada, to the Mississippi and to Florida in visiting all the western and southern nations and he received much encouragement. Passing from the St. Joseph to Fort Dearborn he probably came down the Trail creek path. All this greatly retarded the settlement of Indiana and Michigan. In May, 1810, Harrison sent a military messenger to the Pottawattomies along the lake with proposals of a treaty of friendship, but with no more success than General Wilkinson had met when he did the same thing in 1791. In a letter concerning Tecumseh, written in July, 1811, to the war department, Harrison said: "If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would perhaps be the founder of an empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru." Under the influence of the great chief the treaties from the time of Greenville were repudiated by the Indians and as the trouble with the British began to culminate and the war of 1812 was seen to be inevitable the evidences accumulated that the agents of that nation were busily engaged in equipping the red men with arms and supplies as allies in the approaching conflict. The inevitable battle took place November 7, 1811, near Lafayette, when Tecumseh was absent in the south, and there, at the battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison routed the Indians and sent them scattered and discomfited to their homes. A large number, fearing pursuit, took refuge in the sand hills on the lake until that fear was passed. Tecumseh, clothed in the uniform of a British general, was killed in 1813 at the battle of the Thames and the Prophet sank into obscurity as a common medicine man, drawing a British pension until his death in 1834 in the Indian Territory.

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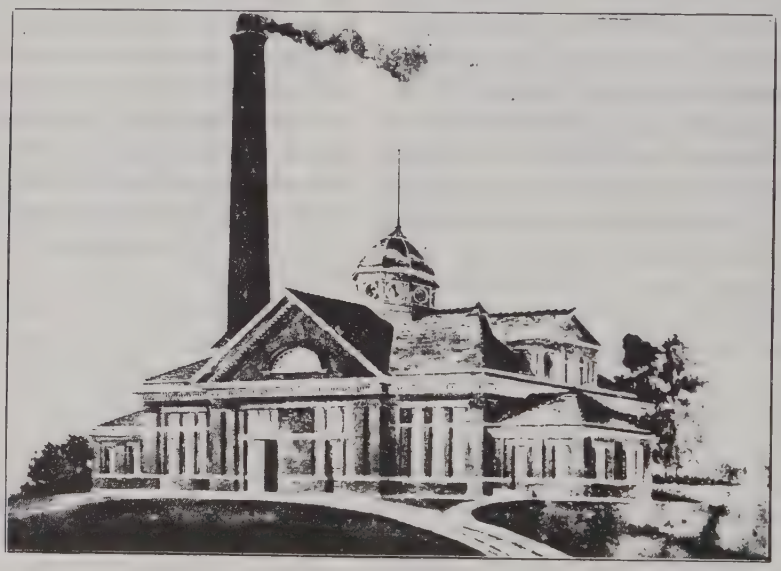
CHAPTER FOUR.

Entering Into Possession.

By the battle of Tippecanoe Tecumseh's great Indian republic was overthrown and the Prophet's supremacy was destroyed. Cursing their credulity most of the red men dispersed to their tribal villages and it was never again possible to win their consideration for any scheme of confederation against the whites. The warfare on the border was not yet ended, however, nor had the natives lost all hope of driving back the ever growing horde of westward-pushing white settlers. British agents had led them to believe in some vague way that they were the special objects of the English king's solicitude and that he, if they joined his standard, would give them protection for their families and homes. The war of 1812 was approaching and the English desired an alliance with the savages, who were annually supplied at Malden with British arms and provisions. The Indians at Tippecanoe fought with British weapons thus obtained.

President Madison declared war June 19, 1812. At that time the Americans were maintaining military establishments at Mackjnac, Fort Dearborn, Fort Wayne, Fort Harrison (near Terre Haute), Vincennes and Detroit. Governors Hull and Harrison were made brigadier generals and upon the former devolved the task of holding Detroit, which was the strongest of the western positions and the key to the entire region. "On to Canada!" had for years been the cry of the American war party and the opportunity seemed to have arrived. Hull, crossing the river, took peaceful possession of the quiet little village of Sandwich and spread abroad a grandiloquent manifesto declaring his occupancy of Canada and denouncing in awful terms the penalty of instant death to any Britisher found fighting side by side with Indians; but he neglected to carry his victorious arms across the few intervening miles to Malden, where Brock and his army were supposed to be trembling in fear of the Michigander's prowess, and while he procrastinated and Brock fortified news came of the American surrender at Mackinac. The longer Hull dallied at Sandwich the more he learned of Brock's activity and of the Indian reinforcements brought up to Malden by Tecumseh. At last, early in August, he fell back across the river and when Brock and Tecumseh followed him he raised the white flag on the sixteenth, without consulting with any of his subordinates or firing a gun, and so, instead of capturing Canada by a brilliant stroke, he lost Detroit and the territory of Michigan by a pusillanimous surrender. Later he was accused of treason and convicted of cowardice for this weak relinquishment of his stronghold. And yet something may be said in justice to the memory of this man who, having the civil and military control over the Trail creek valley, surrendered it to the British flag, for he had been under the influence of Jefferson, the president whose mortal terror of his own army and navy led him to permit for the western posts only such

moderate garrisons "as may merely take care of the posts" and to rely upon the neighboring militia for support in case of attack. This policy carried with it an inefficiency on the American side that was frightful as compared with the effective fighting machine the English maintained in Canada, especially when the latter was strengthened by whole tribes of savages. The Madison administration, also, failed miserably to give Hull the support that was necessary for his purposes in the first steps of the war.



WATERWORKS

Madison mercifully gave him his life, for the court martial sentenced him to be shot, but he was a ruined man.

When Hull, learning of the disaster at Mackinac, decided to fall back to Detroit, he sent a message to Fort Dearborn directing the evacuation of that post and the junction of its garrison with his army, and giving the information of the declaration of hostilities and of the movements up to that time. November 7 the Pottawattomie chief Winamac (Catfish) arrived at the post with the message. At that time Captain Nathan Heald, the commandant, had fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, all privates, and two officers, Lieutenant Lina T. Helm and Ensign George Ronan. Many were sick, about forty being able for duty, and there were about a dozen women and twenty children, the families of soldiers. The surgeon was Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis. Outside the blockhouse was the family of John Kinzie, who had settled on the St. Joseph river as a trader in 1800 and in the spring of 1804 moved to the new fort and bought the establishment of LeMai. His step-daughter was the wife of Lieutenant Helm. In his service were Jean Baptiste Chandonnais, clerk, a half-breed Pottawattomie chief who later was a resident of LaPorte county, and Francois, a half-breed interpreter. Two or three other white families had been living there, but they left after the Indian hostilities became pronounced in the spring. In the Kinzie family there were, besides the parents, four children. The Indians in the lake

shore region were for the greater part under the influence of the British and intensely hostile to the Americans, notwithstanding the efforts of a few such friendly chiefs as Winamac, Topinabee and Shaubeenee, who lived in or near LaPorte county. It was rather difficult just prior to the massacre at Fort Dearborn to get at the true state of mind of the Pottawattomies, Kickapoos and Winnebagoes, then in that territory, because of their constant dissimulation of peaceful intentions and their repeated declarations that such murders as were committed were done by impetuous and ill-advised young warriors. All of the whites and chiefs mentioned had crossed through or near the present site of Michigan City and knew the spot very well. Charles H. Bartlett, of South Bend, in his beautifully written "Tales of Kankakee Land," has described the situation at this time.

Winamac's news threw Captain Heald into a state of great indecision and he could not bring himself to act on the orders of Hull. The friendly Indians and Captain Kinzie advised him that but two courses were open to him: he ought to evacuate instantly, before the surrounding tribes could learn of the occurrences at Detroit and of his orders, which would probably enable him to get into the shelter of Fort Wayne, the nearest post; or he should prepare himself for a siege and attempt to hold his position until relief could come. He temporized between the two plans and finally decided to divide his stores among the savages, who were coming up in increased numbers daily, and ask them for a safe-conduct to Fort Wayne under a promise of further reward on arrival there. In the meantime Tecumseh's secretary, Billy Caldwell, arrived among the Indians and informed them of Hull's retreat and the fall of Mackinac. Caldwell, known as the Sauganash, afterwards became a resident of Chicago and was one of the firmest and most valuable friends the Americans had, but this was not until after the close of the war. On the 13th Captain William Wells arrived at the blockhouse from Fort Wayne with thirty friendly Miamis, having learned of the proposed evacuation and made a forced march through the wilderness by the Trail creek route to save if possible his niece, the wife of Captain Heald, whom, after the Indian fashion, he termed his sister. Black Partridge, a distinguished warrior chief of the Pottawattamies, came to the fort and handed his medal of friendship to the commander, saying: "Father, I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it, in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy." On the very morning of the massacre Topinabee sent word that his band and the others that had promised safe-escort were meditating mischief.

The morning of August 15 arrived and Heald had determined to march out that day. At nine o'clock the troops, in military array and with martial music, left the gate, the women and children in the baggage wagons with the sick soldiers, and proceeded south on the sandy beach with the intention of following the shore line to the mouth of Trail creek and then striking across to Fort Wayne. The Miamis were in advance, led by Captain Wells, who had blackened his face after the manner of the savages, and the escort of five hundred Pottawattomies were in the rear. On reaching the sand hills this rear guard defiled into the prairie beyond and got up even with the troops, with the hills intervening. Wells observed the movement and rode furiously

back shouting an alarm and ordering an instant formation for defense, but he was too late; a volley of balls from British muskets in the hands of the treacherous savages was poured into the little company, which made a brave fight on the open ground near the present foot of Eighteenth street, now marked by a monument, and the affair was soon over. Twenty-six regulars, all the militia, two women and twelve children were slaughtered in cold blood, Ensign Ronan and the surgeon fell mortally wounded, and Captain Wells was scalped, cut to pieces and his heart divided among the redskins to be eaten for the purpose of giving them greater courage. Lieutenant Helm, with twenty-five soldiers and eleven women and children, was taken captive. Captain Heald and his wife were wounded. Kinzie had placed his family in a boat bound for the St. Joseph before the battle and, though they did not escape the awful scene, they were allowed to proceed later and reached the post of the trader Burnett. Mrs. Helm fought desperately in the action and her life was saved by Black Partridge, while Winamac tried nobly to rescue Captain Wells. Billy Caldwell the next day gathered the remains of the captain and tenderly buried them. Topinabee, Shaubeenee, Chandonnais, and the Indians named, with others, succeeded in getting the survivors away from a belated band of Pottawattomies that arrived too late to participate in the massacre and desired to taste the blood of the remaining whites. The Indians, whose known loss was fifteen killed, burned the blockhouse and divided the supplies. Some of the prisoners were dispersed among the Illinois settlements, but the greater part were taken to Detroit and turned over to the British by the Indians, and the scalps of the slain men, women and children, were sold to the English commander Proctor, who had offered a reward for such commodities.

After this manifestation of enterprise by the Trail creek aborigines and their red associates they immediately invested Fort Wayne and maintained the siege from August 28 until September 16, when General Harrison relieved the place. At the same time Captain Zachary Taylor, afterwards president, was attacked in his fort near Terre Haute, (Fort Harrison) and gallantly repelled the assault. Referring to all these movements in his message of November 12, 1812, President Madison, after mentioning "the providential favors which our country has experienced," said:—

"With these blessings are necessarily mingled the pressures and vicissitudes incident to the state of war into which the United States have been forced by the perseverance of a foreign power in its system of injustice and aggression.

"Previous to its declaration it was deemed proper as a measure of precaution and forecast, that a considerable force should be placed in the Michigan Territory with a general view to its security, and, in the event of war, to such operations in the uppermost Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages, obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders and maintain cooperating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts. Brigadier-General Hull was charged with this provisional service, having under his command a body of troops composed of regulars and of volunteers from the State of Ohio. Having reached his destination after his knowledge of the war, and possessing discretionary authority to act offensively, he passed into the neighboring territory of the enemy with a prospect of easy and victorious progress. The expedition, nevertheless, terminated unfortunately, not only in a retreat to the town and fort of Detroit, but in the surrender of both and of the gallant corps commanded by that officer. The causes of this painful reverse will be investigated by a military tribunal.

"A distinguished feature in the operations which preceded and followed this

adverse event is the use made by the enemy of the merciless savages under their influence. Whilst the benevolent policy of the United States invariably recommended peace and promoted civilization among that wretched portion of the human race, and was making exertions to dissuade them from taking either side of the war, the enemy has not scrupled to call to his aid their ruthless ferocity, armed with the horrors of those instruments of carnage and torture which are known to spare neither age nor sex. In this outrage against the laws of honorable war and against the feelings sacred to humanity the British commanders cannot resort to a plea of retaliation, for it is committed in the face of our example. They cannot mitigate it by calling it a self-defense against men in arms, for it embraces the most shocking butcheries of defenseless families. Nor can it be pretended that they are not answerable for the atrocities perpetrated, since the savages are employed with a knowledge, and even with menaces, that their fury could not be controlled. Such is the spectacle which the deputed authorities of a nation boasting its religion and morality have not been restrained from presenting to an enlightened age.

"The misfortune at Detroit was not, however, without a consoling effect. It was followed by signal proofs that the national spirit rises according to the pressure on it. The loss of an important post and of the brave men who surrendered with it inspired everywhere new ardor and determination. In the States and districts least remote it was no sooner known than every citizen was ready to fly with his arms at once to protect his brethren against the bloodthirsty savages let loose by the enemy on an extensive frontier, and to convert a partial calamity into a source of invigorated efforts. This patriotic zeal, which it was necessary rather to limit than to excite, has embodied an ample force from the States of Kentucky and Ohio and from parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of Brigadier-General Harrison, who possesses the entire confidence of his fellow-soldiers, among whom are citizens, some of them volunteers in the ranks, not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits. The greater portion of this force is proceeding on its destination toward the Michigan Territory, having succeeded in relieving an important frontier post, [Fort Wayne] and in several incidental operations against hostile tribes of savages, rendered indispensable by the subserviency into which they had been seduced by the enemy—a seduction the more cruel as it could not fail to impose a necessity of precautionary severities against those who yielded to it."

Finding himself at the head of military affairs in the west Harrison was charged with three main objects. He was to drive the Indians away from the western side of Detroit, destroy the British post at Malden, and recapture the lost territory of Michigan and its dependencies, including Fort Dearborn. In that winter the bloody massacre of the incompetent Winchester's force at Frenchtown, on the Raisin river near Detroit, stirred the whole country and added something to the importance of Tecumseh. October 5, 1813, Harrison defeated the British and Indians at the great battle of the Thames, in which Tecumseh was killed, and ended the war in the northwest. A year later Great Britain was ready to suggest peace and the day before Christmas, 1814, the treaty of Ghent was signed. In the July previous the lake Pottawattomies and some other tribes had entered into a friendly treaty with Harrison at Greenville, in which they engaged to transfer their alliance to the Americans, following one or two similar agreements a little earlier but not fully adhered to by the savages. Abandoned by their British friends when the war ceased in the west the Indians fell into a state of great destitution and misery and the settlers in Indiana soon lost their fear of further depredations and again began to extend their holdings of land. At the same time the poverty and suffering of the tribes and the dissensions

into which they fell over the question of allegiance were seriously augmented by the use of liquor, which they began to obtain more easily from the traders. In the spring of 1815 some evidence appeared that the English were again tampering with the Pottawattomies, but nothing came of it except that a new agreement of friendship was required and at Spring Wells, near Detroit, it was given in August.

The Indians were greatly disappointed and angered over the treaty made at Ghent so far as it concerned their interests. Billy Caldwell, Tecumseh's faithful secretary, said of it twenty years later: "The British officers promised to stand by the Indians until we gained our object; they basely deserted us and got defeated, and after putting in our claims in the negotiations at Ghent, finally left us to make peace with the Americans on the best terms we could. The Americans fairly whipped us, and then treated with us honorably." It was in conformance with this agreement with the red men that Great Britain at Ghent put forward as a condition without the acceptance of which, the negotiators said, there could be no further discussion. This *sine qua non* was thus expressed:—"The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territories." This was held to mean that the United States should recognize the sovereignty of the Indians and establish a line which would leave them in possession of a region between the British and American boundaries, and it was suggested that the proposed independent Indian nation should be given the territory now occupied by Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and western Ohio. The American plenipotentiaries declined to submit the proposal to their government, or even to consider it or any modification of it, and the negotiation came near terminating at that point, but His Britannic Majesty yielded little by little until the entire condition was abandoned and his Indian allies were left to their fate.

The sovereignty of the United States was thereby once more assured in Michigan and in the valley of Trail creek, having been much in doubt since the surrender of Detroit, and the title to the soil rested in the Pottawattomies. Lewis Cass had succeeded Hull as governor and the capital was at Detroit. In this situation the ten-mile strip was given to Indiana when its territorial government was superseded by that of a state in November, 1816. Jonathan Jennings, the first governor, in the course of his inaugural address to the first general assembly at Corydon, the capital, spoke of many matters of deep concern to the people of the new state and said:—"A uniform adherence to the first principles of our government, and a virtuous exercise of its powers, will best secure efficiency to its measures and stability to its character. Without a frequent recurrence to those principles, the administration of the government will imperceptibly become more and more arduous, until the simplicity of our republican institutions may eventually be lost in dangerous expedients and political design. Under every free government the happiness of the citizens must be identified with their morals, and while a constitutional exercise of their rights shall continue to have its due weight in the discharge of the duties required of the constituted authorities of the state, too much attention cannot be bestowed to the encouragement and promotion of every moral virtue."

At this time the traders Burnett, near Niles, and Bertrand, at the place now bearing that name, were driving a vigorous trade with the Indians on both sides of the St. Joseph. In that summer John Kinzie returned from the St. Jo-

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seph to his house from which he was driven at the massacre of Fort Dearborn and reopened his business there. The negro Ouilmette had returned immediately after the massacre; not long after, in the same year, Jean B. Beubien, the second permanent white resident of Chicago, settled there, with Francis La-Framboise as a neighbor within a short time. In July, 1816, Captain Hezekiah Bradley, with two companies of infantry, arrived at the Chicago river and rebuilt Fort Dearborn, gathering up the scattered remains of the victims of the massacre and burying them. "The subsequent life of the settlers was quiet and unvaried," says Andreas. "Cultivation of the soil furnished them with the necessaries of life, and the abundance of game added a variety that many an eastern table might have envied. A thrifty bartering of the surplus of products with the occasional vessels that came for furs, supplied other wants, and thus days on the frontier passed away." The powerful vitality of the nation, just emerged from the war with a new sense of absolute freedom from the influences of the Old World, sought its outlet toward the west and a new tide of immigration swept into the great central valley. The pacification of the natives was complete and their deterioration, aided by the white man's fire water, set in. The policy of extinguishing the Indian titles by purchase was preserved, but Jefferson's fanciful dream of amalgamating the red race with our own dissolved in thin air.

While the people "back in the states" were arguing, in Indiana's first decade of statehood, about such questions as tariff, banking, slavery, internal improvements and constitutional construction, the pioneers of the border were occupied with Indian treaties, new lands and trading. Before ever priest or soldier rested in the shadows of Hoosier Slide it is probable the fur trader was there, and from that unrecorded traffic until now the business has never been wholly discontinued or intermitted. La-Salle's voyageurs and the independent coureurs de bois of the latter years of the seventeenth century gave way in the eighteenth to the regularly licensed traders and their engages, first of the French, then of the English, and after these came the keen and hardy employes of the American traders and companies, also licensed by government authority. Michigan City is an exception to the general rule that the first inhabitants of cities and towns now existing and of many long forgotten in this part of the west were the agents or employes of some of the great trading companies, but it is possible that the ancient and mysterious establishment marked down at the mouth of Trail creek as A-ber-cronk was a post for exchange with the Indians. However that may be, such posts were very numerous within a short distance of the place and they had much to do with bringing the attractions of the region to the attention of outsiders. The early stations on the St. Joseph and Chicago rivers have been mentioned. The first of the large corporations interested at those points under the dominion of the United States was the American Fur company. It employed voyageurs at from two hundred and fifty livres (fifty dollars) per annum to three times that sum, equipped them with a Mackinaw blanket, two cotton shirts, a capote, and a few small necessaries each, and sent them out from Mackinac in the fall to gather furs until spring, exchanging therefor the beads, bright prints, knives, and such baubles as their packs contained for the distraction of the red men. While out on the trail they subsisted largely on salt pork, corn and tallow. In the spring the furs were taken by sailing vessels or pirogues to Mackinac and there repacked for the New York mar-

ket. The voyageurs were selected among the young, athletic, adventurous Canadian habitans and an agency was maintained in Montreal to engage them.

The American Fur company was organized and chartered by the New York legislature in 1809 and John Jacob Astor constituted the entire company. In a few years he absorbed the Northwest company, the Mackinaw company and the Southwest company and crowded the Hudson's Bay company, dating back to 1670, out of his field. At the close of the war of 1812 he succeeded in getting through congress an act prohibiting foreigners from dealing in furs in the United States and territories, and by the end of 1817 he had in his employ seven-eighths of the traders about the upper Mississippi and its tributaries and the great lakes. Near the headquarters of every independent trader he located an agency with orders to make such terms with the Indians as would get the business. Kinzie at Chicago and Burnett at the St. Joseph went into the Astor trust quite early, and that combination had exclusive control of the trade in the district between those places and between the Kankakee and the lake. The question being raised as to the propriety of issuing licenses to foreign traders in the employ of Astor's company under the act of 1815, above mentioned, he found the means of obtaining "specific indulgences" in respect to his own men and even of having blank licenses issued to him in numbers, which benefactions were denied to other employing companies. On this point a letter written to him June 23, 1817, by his western manager, Ramsey Crooks, is interesting in the light of the "literature of exposure" that is now so prevalent. Mr. Crooks, a very canny Scotsman, said:—

"Governor Cass, although positively instructed to be guided by the orders of the War Department of last year in regard to the granting of licensing to foreigners, and having no directions from Acting Secretary Graham to bestow any specific indulgences on your agents, has written Major Puthuff [Indian agent at Green Bay, afterward dismissed]to attend particularly to our wishes; and should he act as the discretionary nature of his orders will allow, he can serve our purpose almost as effectually as if foreigners had been excluded generally and we had obtained the number of licenses in blank which you at one time so confidently expected. With this knowledge of the disposition evinced by the Governor of Michigan Territory for our success, you may well suppose no effort on our part to engage the Indian Agent here [Colonel Bowyer, at Mackinac]in our cause, but his not being bound to pursue any particular system will leave all we obtain to be acquired by our own exertions. So conflicting will be the claims on his indulgence, and so many stratagems will be tried to thwart our views, that it would be the extreme of folly to hazard an opinion of the result, but if he only remains true to the line of conduct we may prevail on him to adopt, we flatter ourselves with getting hold of a larger share of the trade than last year."

The nature of the goods which the company used in exchange with the Indians at far above the usual market rates, may be seen from a list contained in one of the letters of Mr. Crooks dated in 1819:—"5 common calico shirts, 19 Cotton Handkfs., 5 Snuff Boxes, 1 Skein Worsted Yarn, 30 Strings Wampum, 62 Hawk Bells, 78½ pairs Large Square Ear Bobs, 117 small Double Crosses and 30 yds. Indian Calico." Another sidelight is cast upon this traffic with the savages by a letter from David Stone, the company's Detroit agent, to Mr. Crooks in 1825:—

"I understand from Coquillard [Alexis, then agent at South Bend, of which he was the first settler] that it is very important for his trade that there should be some whiskey deposited at Chicago subject to his order. He says Bertrand [the

trader at the place now bearing that name, independent of the company] always sells whiskey to the Indian trade, which gives him a great advantage. He says the whiskey can be landed on one side of the St. Joseph River where it will be on United States lands, that it may be transported all the way to his house on Government land. His house is also on Government land, and this he thinks a protection. If I understand Judge Polk's construction of the law regulating Indian trade, this would be no protection to the property so long as the country is occupied by Indians. To me this seems like a forced construction to meet the case of Wallace & Davis's goods [independent traders near Chicago]. I could not say anything definite to Coquillard on this subject, as I did not know what would be done."

In harmony with the established policy of the government to place satisfactory goods within the reach of its Indian wards at reasonable prices, under what was termed the factory system, a factory was opened at Fort Dearborn in connection with the Indian agency there in the year the first blockhouse was built. It was destroyed with the other buildings within the government enclosure at the massacre and was reopened in 1816 when the new fort was built. During the former period, before the American Fur company had grown to its later proportions, it thrived and was much resorted to by the Indians. But its second period of life was not prosperous. The company drew the attention of the red men by selling them goods of a class the government would not handle, making up in gorgeous colors what was lacking in quality, and also by selling or giving them whisky. The government factors were unable to compete with the traders in the matter of mendacity also, and the Indians were very credulous and readily followed the biggest stories. The efforts of the federal officers to enforce the laws regulating the Indian traffic were followed by the appearance at Washington of Mr. Crooks, at the session of 1819-20, to such purpose that he was able to report to Mr. Astor in a letter dated in May that "the new-fangled obnoxious Indian system died a natural death. * * * We will not suffer ourselves to be trampled upon with impunity, either by the military or any other power." In the same month the factor at Chicago wrote: "The Indians have been induced to come here this season by the facility with which they were enabled to procure whisky. In fact the commerce with them this season has been almost exclusively confined to that article. I will venture to say that out of two hundred barks of sugar taken, [maple sugar, in forty-pound bark cases] not five have been purchased with any other commodity than whisky. I have not been able to procure a pound of sugar from the Indians, but can get a supply from the traders at ten cents a pound." In 1822 the government factory was closed and the fur company was the purchaser of its house and stood supreme. But there was a measure of poetic justice in the outcome, for the savages were so corrupted by the drink and treatment of the traders that they abandoned the hunt and became utterly worthless hangers-on of treaty councils, leaving the company without a supply of furs for which to trade its goods. By 1828 the trade was practically gone, and a few years later, when the redskins were moved west, it ceased altogether. Its one service to the white settlers in this region was that it enabled them to make payments on their land by prowess in the chase at a time when their farming operations were not yet productive of much cash.

While some of these gun and trap products of our first settlers were sold at Niles, the greater part went to Alexis Coquillard or Lathrop S. Taylor at South Bend. As early as 1820 Pierre F. Navarre, who married a squaw and had a

large family of children, some highly educated, located near the old portage at that point and his operations included the Trail creek region. He lived until December 27, 1864, and is buried at Notre Dame. In the spring of 1824 Coquillard, an agent of the American Fur company, opened a branch house there and is regarded as the first permanent white resident of South Bend. He had been in the service of the company for some years at Detroit, Mackinac and Niles, and became well known to the pioneers of this entire region. One of the company's representatives wrote of him to the manager thus:—"In Relation to Mr. Coquillard, it may be proper to observe that he is an excellent clerk but rather of a singular character, and must have carte blanche, otherwise nothing can be done for him." He was killed in 1854 by falling from the upper part of his mill, which he was inspecting after a fire. Col. Taylor, as agent for an independent trading firm at Fort Wayne, opened a South Bend branch in September, 1827, was the first clerk, recorder and postmaster, and lived there to a ripe old age, one of the most highly honored residents of the place. The nearest trading establishment to the mouth of Trail creek was on the north bank of the Little Calumet about two miles west of the present site of Porter and made its last appearance on the map under the name of Bailey Town in the Encyclopedia Britannica, in 1881, at which time the place had long ceased to be even a hamlet. The earliest known map, on which it was shown, one made for Governor Hull prior to 1812, presented it as the Little Fort. There is some slight evidence that a station, perhaps merely a log shed for the temporary storage of furs while the voyageurs were working in the vicinity, was placed there as early as in 1796, and ten or a dozen years later Alexander Robinson was using it in his business. From it the present name of Fort creek was derived. The first inhabitants of Michigan City knew it as Baillytown, or, as the French twist made it, Byetown, so called after the trader, Joseph Bailly, who occupied it when they came.

Joseph and William Bailly, brothers, located, the latter on the Grand and the former on the St. Joseph, in 1802 bearing Gov. Harrison's license dated Jan. 7, as Indian traders. In 1822, as Rev. T. H. Ball has fixed the date, Joseph opened a store and established a trading post for the American Fur company at the place mentioned, the Little Fort, and remained there at least twelve years after that time. His wife was Tou-se-qua, an Ottawa squaw, and they had six beautiful daughters and two sons. One son died in 1827 at the age of ten years and the father erected a Catholic chapel near his house as a memorial. The name of the other son was Robert, and the daughters were Esther, Rosene, Eleanor, Sophia, Hortense and Therese, all of whom, with the father, received cash donations by the Chicago treaty of 1833, while the mother was remembered in that of October 27, 1832, at the Tippecanoe. Bailly made money, more particularly when he did business independently after he ceased his connection with the company when that institution drooped, and quite an Indian population settled about his store. In 1834 he laid out some ground in town lots, but nothing ever came of it; "no American inhabitants came," says Mr. Ball, "the Indians that were there could not make a city, and in a few years the trader himself died." Some of his descendants are yet living in that locality. When he died, in April, 1835, his wife and daughters were spending the winter in Chicago as was their custom after the family was enriched by trade and treaties, and a swift Indian runner was despatched to inform them of the unexpected event. In

spite of their best efforts they were unable to reach the bereaved home until after the burial, which could not be delayed in those days. Jacob Beck, one of the first inhabitants of Waverly where Porter is now and an early lot owner in Michigan City, was the volunteer undertaker. Bailly's associate, Alexander Robinson, at the station on the St. Joseph river for a time, was born at Mackinac about 1762, the son of a Scotch trader and an Ottawa woman, through the latter of whom he became an Ottawa and Pottawattomie chief. His Indian name, Che-che-pinqua, variously spelled in the treaties, means "blinking eyes." After marrying a native wife he removed to the St. Joseph and entered the service of the American Fur Company with Bailly. "No battle deeds of his have been found on record to be recorded here," it is written, "but as early as 1809 he is found engaged in taking corn around the south shore of Lake Michigan." The corn was raised by the Pottawattomies, whose maple sugar he also handled, and he carried these products in bark-woven sacks on the backs of ponies. He likewise handled furs and regularly visited Trail creek, occasionally using a portage from its headwaters to the Little Calumet, a path not now capable of identification but probably starting from a point in section twenty and terminating in section thirty-one in Coolspring township, perhaps three miles in length. On the day preceding the massacre at Fort Dearborn he was bound for Chicago river in his canoe when some friendly Miamis hailed him from the shore and told him it would be best for him not to go there, as "it would storm tomorrow." He therefore proceeded on his journey until he reached the mouth of the Big Calumet, in Lake county, and there he hid his canoe and went toward the fort, arriving while the slaughter was in progress. He did all in his power to shield the whites and helped to save and remove to the St. Joseph the Kinzie family. Two years later he settled near Chicago and continued to trade in the coast region to the St. Joseph, becoming prominent in the early history of the present western metropolis. For his second wife he married the daughter of the chief of a Pottawattomie village on the Calumet, Francois Chevalier by name, at whose death he succeeded to the chieftancy. Land and annuities were given him in several treaties and he died on his reservation on the Des Plaines river April 22, 1872, at a very great age.

Another half-breed trader, and one who was familiar to the first settlers in Michigan City and whose name, written in beautiful copperplate script, is attached to the first petition for a road from Michigan City to his land on Door Prairie and to many other papers on file at the LaPorte county court house, was Jean Baptiste Chandonnais, and he too was in the service of Astor's company for a time. The difficulties encountered by the Americans in the matter of French names are well illustrated by the variations of this name found in the letters, treaties and records of his time, for it has been written Chandonnait, Chandonet, Chandonia, Shaderny and Shadney, the last being the pronunciation used while he lived in this county This man was the son of a Canadian Frenchman by Chippewaqua, a Pottawattomie woman, who had another son named Joseph Daze. The former was well educated and must have been born in Canada about 1780 to 1790. His mother was a sister of Topinabee, another of whose sisters married Burnett, the St. Joseph trader. Upon completing his education in Detroit young Chandonnais came to Burnett's station and, about 1804, was employed as clerk by John Kinzie, with whom in that year he went

to Chicago and continued in a confidential capacity, traveling often between that place and the St. Joseph posts on the business of the fur company, until the war of 1812. When the massacre at Fort Dearborn occurred he was chosen to effect the escape of the Kinzie family and in addition to accomplishing that he saved the lives of Captain and Mrs. Heald. As soon as he had seen the Kinzies in safety he went to Detroit with his employer, then a prisoner to the British, and immediately entered the American military service, engaging in several of the battles and skirmishes of that year. He fell into the hands of the British and was imprisoned at Malden, but soon escaped; being pursued by a squad led by his own paternal uncle, he killed the uncle and fled into the wilderness, whence he made his way to Harrison's army and, under that commander and Lewis Cass, was a scout of exceptional value. After participating in the battle of the Thames he saw no more fighting but was with Cass until after the close of the war, one particular service being the great influence he exerted in persuading the Pottawattomies to attend and sign the treaty at Greenville in 1814, whereby they were won away from the British influence. Thirty years later General Cass wrote of him thus:—

"From the commencement of our difficulties with Great Britain, Chaudonia espoused our cause, notwithstanding the exertions of the British agents to seduce him to their interest, as he was an active, fearless young man, with connection in the tribe; they were exceedingly desirous to gain him, but their efforts were useless. From the first to the last he never swerved in his attachment. * * * From Greenville he accompanied me to Detroit, for which place I marched a considerable force of Indians for the relief of that frontier, which was then suffering from the invasion of hostile Indians. I had no white troops with me, and my position was therefore difficult and dangerous. * * * He attended the treaties for the purchase of land, and always aided the commissioners in their efforts, and I can say from personal knowledge that General Harrison had the same opinion of him that I had."

May 11, 1846, the congressional committee on public lands submitted a report in which Chandonnais received the following mention:—

"Chaudonia, at the commencement of the late war, being young, active, enterprising, and daring—understanding well the manners and customs of the Indians—being well skilled in their mode of warfare, admitted into their secret councils, and possessing an influence over them that no one else, who favored the American cause, did—all these circumstances combined gave him the power of rendering to the United States greater services than any one else at that time, which he at no time omitted to exercise when it was necessary to save either the lives of the citizens of the United States, or their property, from destruction. During the existence of the war his life was devoted to our cause, and his property freely sacrificed for the protection and safety of our citizens."

After his military service, and prior to 1818, he returned to Kinzie at Chicago and soon embarked in business for himself, carrying on an extensive trade with the people of his own race in and about LaPorte county. Through an introduction given by Captain Kinzie he was given large credit by Mr. Crooks, western manager of the American Fur company, and became indebted to that corporation in a sum exceeding five thousand dollars, which for some reason he neglected to pay. He had been sent to Mr. Crooks at Mackinaw (for so the name came to be used after 1812, instead of Mackinac) with Captain Kinzie's young son, who was to learn the business, and the manager conceived a very good opinion of the half-breed. When the default occurred Kinzie was urged repeatedly to use his personal influence

with Chandonnais to obtain a settlement with the company, and in one such letter, written August 11, 1819, Mr. Crooks said:—

"With surprise and astonishment I learn the very questionable course Mr. Jean Bte. Chandonnait has thought proper to pursue; but relying with the utmost confidence on your influence over him, I still flatter myself that at least a part of the amount he owes us would have been remitted before this time, more particularly as several gentlemen informed me he had in his possession $1,000 arising from the sale of his peltries to Mr. Crafts [a competitor of the company]. * * * Strange and unaccountable it is, that we have not received any kind of remittance, notwithstanding the extravagant conduct of this person; but, as you introduced him to us, I am bound to hope, although you have not mentioned even his name in any of your letters this summer, that you have done, and will continue to do, all in your power to insure the payment of our claim, at no very distant day."

More than a year afterward Kinzie's chief is again urging him to push the claim, now amounting to less than four thousand dollars, and suggesting that the debtor be induced to mortgage the lands granted him by government treaties of that year. The lamentable fact was that the old soldier was drinking. The land grants referred to were not made at that time, but the Chicago treaty of August 29, 1821, contained, among others, the following specific donations:

"To Jean B. Chandonai, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, two sections of land, on the river St. Joseph, above and adjoining the tract granted to J. B. La Lime.

"To Joseph Daze, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, one section of land above and adjoining the tract granted to Jean B. Chandonais."

To this land, which was on the north side of the river about ten miles from its mouth and near a tract of six sections given to his five Burnett cousins, Chandonnais removed and there he remained until perhaps about 1829, trading some and attending several councils by invitation of the government commissioners because of his influence with the Pottawattomies. When the Michigan road lands were surveyed, as will be hereafter described, members of his tribe disputed the state's interpretation of the treaty authorizing it and stopped the work, breaking the chains of the surveyors; but Chandonnais was called upon to enlighten the Indians. He procured an ox and a great quantity of whisky from the public authorities and invited the tribesmen to a feast, and in the presence of the ensuing barbecue and spree the white man's view was accepted and the work was allowed to proceed. This success may have had some influence with the government commissioners, all Indiana men, who negotiated the treaties of October, 1832, on the Tippecanoe river, for one stipulates a grant "For J. B. Shadernah, one section of land in the Door Prairie, where he now lives;" and another, one day later, awards "To Kesis Shadana, one section; to Louis Chadana, one half-section; to Charles Shadna, one half-section; to John B. Chadana, one section." Earlier in that year the senate committee on Indian affairs had reported a bill giving him a section of land on his petition submitted two or three years before, but no action had been had; the ground of the petition was his service to the nation during the war of 1812. Also, in May of that year, at the time of the Black Hawk alarm, when General Joseph Orr and others were providing for the public defense and the few scattering settlers on Door Prairie were fortifying, the half-breed was consulted and gave much valuable information and advice. The section allotted to him as the one "where he now lives" was number 28 in Scipio township, where he had his family gathered in a typical Indian wigwam;

he soon sold it to George W. and Reuben Allen, the sale being approved by the president June 15, 1834. He was a conspicuous figure at the Chicago treaty in September, 1833, and was there given substantial recognition, as follows:

"John Bt. Chandonai, ($1,000 of this sum to be paid to Robert Stuart, agent of the American Fur Company, by the particular request of Jno. B. Chandonai) ..... $2,500"
"John Bt. Chandonai $1,000
Charles Chandonai) For each of whom R. A. (400
Mary Chandonai) Forsyth is Trustee (400"

While a resident of this county Chandonnais was a trader and he did something toward cultivating his land, besides giving his support to all public enterprises and seeking to interest the Indians in the policy of settling on farms. If he loved liquor, so did some others about him who had enjoyed more civilized associations than he had had; and if he was prosecuted for selling spirits to Indians, and for affrays, so also were some of the foremost business and professional characters in the community—some of them for gambling and intoxication in addition. About 1833 the Indian woman with whom he had been living as his wife died and there soon came to him a French woman whom he had previously married in Detroit and who was the mother of two of his children. This was the Mary B. Chaudonia (as she wrote it) of the St. Joseph county records, for to that county the family removed shortly before the death of the husband in 1837. The widow petitioned congress on behalf of herself and children to grant her a section of land in remembrance of her husband's services to the country, and after years of delay a report was made May 11, 1846, a part of which has been quoted above, which closed thus:—

"The committee being well satisfied of the truth of all the facts above stated—regretting that so just a claim should have been so long neglected, thereby permitting the widow and children of so meritorious a man to drag out life in penury and want—hereby report a bill for their relief, and recommend its passage without delay."

Accordingly a bill was passed and approved March 3, 1847, giving half a section to the widow and a quarter section each to the two children, Charles B. and Mary L. The widow survived both of these children and lived with her grandchildren until her death in St. Joseph county about 1876. Two of these descendants, Charles T. Chaudonia and Edward Breset, were faithful Union soldiers in the civil war. This petty chief of the Pottawattomies, whose blood on both sides was inimical to the American cause, is worth remembering in Michigan City, for he it was who more than any other single individual stayed the treacherous hands of the Indians and opened the path whereby the first settlers of the city made their entrance.

CHAPTER FIVE.

Inspecting the Premises.

The government title to the soil of the valley of Trail creek was acquired by a treaty held October 16, 1826, at the mouth of the Mississinewa river, near Peru, negotiated by Lewis Cass, James B. Ray and John Tipton, and attended by all the Pottawattomie chiefs of this region. Following this, and other treaties soon ensuing, the red natives were induced to leave their homes near the lake and remove to new places of residence in the far west, and by 1837 the migration was completed. The white man was left in possession and with title. Only a few straggling Indians remained. As compared with the St. Joseph and Wabash river regions there were few of the copper colored natives in this county after 1830, and those who dwelt or visited here after that were not troublesome. They were a careless, improvident, drunken lot in the main and they did not much frequent the sand and marshy areas about the lake shore.

With the close of the war, the reestablishment of Fort Dearborn in 1816 and the increasing negotiation of Indian treaties there came into this region a new class of travelers, those who came, not as soldiers, traders or missionaries, but as explorers, tourists and prospectors. With these new adventurers into the wilderness there was a disposition to write journals and letters of description. To such writings we must turn to find the earliest portrayals of the spot where Michigan City has grown up, for among all those visitors whose names are recorded in the preceding pages not one left any known writing descriptive of the place; even the French agent Courtemanche, who mentioned everything, made no statement relating to Trail creek or Hoosier Slide, though in his journey of 1702 between the St. Joseph and Chicago rivers he quite likely slept within the shelter of that towering peak of sand. During Hull's administration as governor of Michigan, when our creek was in that territory, he gathered much information pertaining to this district and its military and trading positions; but all that is left concerning this locality is what appears on a map made for him before 1812 showing the "Riv. du Chemin," the "Little Fort" near the head of Fort creek, the "Grand Killamic R." with a Pottawattomie village on its southern bank, and a table of distances as follows:—"From Chicagou to the little Kellomick is 15 miles—From the little to the Big Kellomick, 21 miles. To the little Fort 12. To the River du Chemin 14." A military messenger who passed along the old trace from Fort Wayne to Fort Dearborn, through the sites of South Bend and Michigan City, in 1815, said that in all that distance there was not a single house of any kind visible.

The Western Gazetteer of 1817 mentions the "Chemin river," which, it says, "has forty miles of navigable water," and it says further that "there is in use a portage of four miles between the Chemin and Little Kennomic." October 4,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

1817, Judge Samuel A. Storrow of Massachusetts, judge advocate general of the army, left Fort Dearborn after a visit of inspection while he was on a tour of the west, and traveled to Fort Wayne on horseback by the same route. This gentleman recorded no impression of Trail creek, but the next visit of which there is definite knowledge was both interesting and productive, for it resulted in the earliest account we have of the conditions prevailing at the mouth of that stream while the spot was in its original state of nature. Deeming it important that the vaguely known region of the Red river of the north should be explored President Monroe, early in 1823, directed the war department to cause an expedition to be immediately fitted out for that purpose, which was done in accordance with orders to Major S. H. Long, an experienced western explorer, dated April 25.

The route prescribed was from Philadelphia, via Wheeling and Fort Wayne, to Chicago, and on to the source of St. Peter's river and the northern boundary of the United States. This was the first officially authorized exploration of the valley of Trail creek. The party was composed of Stephen H. Long, major of U. S. topographical engineers, commander; Thomas Say, the great naturalist, who went with Long to the Rocky mountains in 1819 and in 1825 identified himself with the New Harmony movement in Indiana; William H. Keating, geologist, who wrote the narrative of the expedition; Samuel Seymour, a noted artist; James E. Colhoun, astronomer, and the necessary attendants. Reaching Fort Wayne May 26, and pausing long enough to gather a great deal of valuable information about the Pottawattomies, they set out three days later on the military express route to Fort Dearborn, following the only path then in use between the two points. The party then consisted of the five principals already named and Private Bemis, of the Fort Dearborn garrison, as guide; David McKee, aged 23, a blacksmith en route to Fort Dearborn in the employ of the government pursuant to the treaty of 1821, and Andrew Allison, a negro servant. They were mounted and had two led horses carrying provisions. Passing the Elkhart river and the south bend of the St. Joseph, they turned aside from their route to visit the Carey mission near Niles, then seven months old and in charge of Rev. Isaac McCoy. The account of Keating, the historiographer, then proceeds:—

"Having engaged an Indian to lead us back from Mr. McCoy's to the Chicago trace, we resumed our journey on the 3d of June. Our guide's hoary head would have satisfied even Humboldt himself, that his assertion 'that the hair of Indians never becomes gray,' was too general. We have met with many instances, and the circumstance is so natural that we should not have mentioned it, but for the importance attached to the slightest observation of a traveller so accurate as Humboldt generally is. After travelling about ten miles through a prairie, [this was Portage Prairie] we parted from our guide, who considered himself amply rewarded with half a pound of gunpowder. We then entered upon what is termed the Fourteen-Mile prairie, [Terre Coupee] which, for the first seven miles presented an extensive plain, uninterrupted by the least elevation, and undiversified by the prospect of a single tree. * * * * At noon we rested our horses in the vicinity of the remains of an Indian village named the Grand Quoit, and we observed a few Indian lodges scattered along the edge of the forest which encloses this prairie. On discovering our party on the prairie, the tenants of the lodges immediately rode out of the woods, advanced toward us, and opened a conversation with our guides. Their intercourse with white men, and the consequent departure from their original customs, were observable in the circumstance of their commencing the conversation, and in their minute in-

quiries respecting our object and intentions, in visiting the country. They are said to experience a great scarcity of food, which we can readily believe from the total absence of any kind of game which we had observed upon the route. An Indian who rode up near us, while we were partaking of our dinner, stopped, and appeared to long after food; but called for none. We offered him some, which he very thankfully accepted, and seemed to eat with great voraciousness."

The village of the Grand Quoit (the name is neither French nor Indian) was probably, judging from the description of the country and the distances mentioned, the old Indian settlement found six years later by the government surveyors in section 18 of Wills township, and resorted to by the red natives as a dancing ground until about 1834. There is no evidence of any other Indian village in that vicinity west of Grapevine creek that could have been seen by the expedition. The narrative continues:—

"At about forty-three miles from the Carey station, the trail, which we followed struck the shores of Lake Michigan; this was a source of great gratification to us; as the last twelve miles of our road had been very dangerous, on account of the numerous deep holes formed in it; to these may be added the many superficial roots that projected from the beech trees, in every direction, and that exposed the horses to frequent stumbling. The forest was almost exclusively composed of the finest growth of beech; on some of the higher grounds we found, in great plenty, the partridge or foxberry, (Gaultheria procumbens,) with its aromatic red fruit, in a state of perfect maturity; it was accompanied by the whortleberry in full blossom. We saw this day the first white pine, and in some places this tree was very abundant. We had been following for some time the valley of a small stream, called by the French, Riviere du Chemin, (Trail river,) [this is the first appearance of the English name] but on approaching near to its mouth, our path winded to the south, and we found ourselves at the base of a sand-hill of about twenty feet in height; the fog which arose behind it, and the coolness of the air warned us of our approach to the lake; and on turning along the base of the hill, we discovered ourselves to be on the beach of Lake Michigan. The scenery changes here most suddenly; instead of the low, level and uniformly green prairies, through which we had been travelling for some time past, or of the beech swamp which had offered us such difficulties during the last four hours of our ride, we found ourselves transported, as it were, to the shores of an ocean.

"We were near to the southern extremity of the lake; the view, towards the north, was boundless; the eye meeting nothing but the vast expanse of water, which spread like a sea, its surface at that time as calm and unruffled as though it were a sheet of ice. Towards the south, the prospect was limited to a few hundred yards, being suddenly cut off by a range of low sand-hills, which arose to a height varying from twenty to forty feet; in some instances rising perhaps to upwards of one hundred feet. When we first approached the lake, it was covered with a mist, which soon vanished, and the bright sun, reflected upon the sand and water, produced a glare of light quite fatiguing to the eye. Our progress was in a south-westwardly direction, along the beach, which reminded us of that of the Atlantic on the coast of New Jersey. The sand-hills are undulating and crowned at their summits with a scrubby growth of white pine and furze; while the brow, which faces the lake, is quite bare. In the rear of the hills, but invisible from the beach spreads a level country supporting a scattering growth of white pine, oak, beech, hophorn-beam, (Ostrya virginica,) &c. East and west of us, a continuous narrow beach, curved gradually towards the north, and bounded by the lake and the hills, was all that the eye could observe. At our evening's encampment of the 4th of June, we were at the southernmost extremity of the lake, and could distinctly observe that its southeastern corner is the arc of a greater circle than the south-western. * * * * The streams passed this day, during our

ride along the beach, were inconsiderable; the first is termed the Riviere des Bois, probably from the quantity of drift-wood observed near it; the English appellation for it is Stick river; [this probably has reference to Fort creek, in Porter county; in an Indiana map of 1820 the Little Calumet is designated as the Styx;] the second which we met was the Big Calamick, (Kenomokonk of the Indians,) where the party dispersed, during the evening, each to attend to his own avocations.

Next morning, June 5, the party pushed along the beach, crossing the Calumet near its mouth and passing the scene of the massacre of 1812, and reached Fort Dearborn in the afternoon, having met with no adventure other than to escape shooting what they supposed to be a wolf but which was a dog belonging to a very dirty Indian who lived in a hut near the lake in Indiana. The publication of Keating's report of the exploration was not calculated to attract settlers to the Trail creek valley. In the summer of 1824 James Galloway rode from his home at Sandusky to Fort Dearborn on horseback by the Michigan City route. After trapping and trading he returned two years later and took his family to Chicago by water, with a large stock of goods which at first the American Fur company prevented him from landing but was later forced to admit by the insistence of the few people there though the military commander threw the weight of his influence in the company's favor. In the summer of 1826 Mark Beaubien passed down Trail creek on his way to Chicago to visit his elder brother, Jean B. Beaubien, and he spoke thus of the trip: "I arrived in Chicago in the year of 1826, from Detroit; came with my family by team; no road only Indian trail. I had to hire an Indian to show me the road to Chicago. I camped out doors and bought a log house from Jim Kinzie. There was no town laid out; didn't expect no town." He built a hotel later and entered into competition with Samuel Miller, who was one of the first inhabitants of Michigan City. In 1827-8 David McKee, whom we have met with the Long expedition, was the government mail carrier between Fort Dearborn and Fort Wayne, and his road was by Trail creek. Galloway, Beaubien, Miller and McKee were all connected, by marriage or business, with the Clyburns, Benedicts, and Eahearts who formed the first settlement on Door Prairie and with the Kinzie family. It has been stated on a previous page that the first survey ever made on the site of Michigan City was that of E. P. Hendricks in laying down the northern boundary of Indiana. As he was traversing the lake coast to get ten miles northing for his starting point due east, he entered in his field notes of October 11, 1827, this item: "A stream, 50, NW.," meaning that he crossed a stream fifty links wide, flowing northwesterly and, so far as he knew, without a name. It was Trail creek. He crossed it at about noon and reached the boundary the same evening. Here is his description of the lake shore as he saw it from about where Miller's station is to the Michigan line:—

"The lake coast, so far as I traversed it, is a continued chain of hills formed of beautiful white sand, in most places very high, and little or no vegetation. Back of these sand hills it is generally swamp or marsh, therefore there are few places that the lake can be approached without difficulty. No harbors or islands are to be seen."

Hendricks did not dream that, within ten years after he wrote, Indiana City, City West and Michigan City would all be raised up as hopeful rivals of Chicago with their harbors, the last to endure, the others to pass into the hazy realm of romance. This mention of the lack of harbors on Indiana soil was a disappoint-

ment to the legislature, which then had the Michigan road in mind, but, with the contested northern boundary dispute in view, that body promptly approved the Hendricks survey by a resolution of January 17, 1828. Michigan City owes its origin to the Michigan road, a history of which will appear in another chapter, and the explorations made in pursuance of that project of internal improvement are therefore of great historical importance in this locality. It was the dream of a harbor that led Indiana to insist upon a northern boundary ten miles north of that claimed by Michigan; it was the same vision that led to the insertion of the second article in the treaty of October 16, 1826, whereby the Pottawattomies ceded lands in their territory for the purposes of a road to the lake, and it was to admit of the construction of this road to a lake harbor that congress, March 2, 1827, passed the cession over to the state. When the general assembly next met it acted promptly in accepting the donation and the authority conferred by congress under the treaty and passed the act of January 24, 1828, out of which our city grew. This act appointed "John McDonald of Daviess county, Chester Elliot of Warwick, and John I. Neely of Gibson," as commissioners to survey and mark the proposed road, which was thenceforth called the Michigan road and was to extend from the Ohio river to the shore of Lake Michigan through Indianapolis, and instructed them to "proceed to examine all the bays, inlets and estuaries of rivers on that part of Lake Michigan lying within the state of Indiana in order to ascertain where the best harbor can be had, * * * and suitable site for a commercial town; and survey and mark a road by the most eligible route to Indianapolis."

The three legislative commissioners, with the necessary assistants, Indian guides (Joe Truckee was chief guide) and camp equipment, proceeded immediately to the lake and thoroughly explored the Indiana coast in harmony with their instructions. The report of this exploration and the map filed therewith are most unfortunately lost, but the mouth of Trail creek was decided upon as "the most suitable place for a commercial town, where the best harbor could be had," and there, June 12, 1828, for the second time in its history, a surveyor's instrument was set up within the present limits of Michigan City. On that date the northern terminus of the road was marked and the party started toward the south, a band of Pottawattomies of uncertain amity hanging on its flanks. Here are the field notes for the first two miles:—

"Thursday, June 12. Beginning at the mouth of *the river Styx or* [italicised words crossed out] Trail creek five miles 11 chains [from] the place where the north line of the state of Indiana strikes the shore of the lake as measured along the shore, thence south 62 deg. east 80 chains to a tree marked 1 M. At 20 chains from the lake a creek crosses the line, course east, 20 links wide. Soil, sand; timber, mostly black and white oak and some pine. Southing 36.32. Easting 71.28. 2nd Mile. Continue south 62 deg. east 28 chains, crossing a small marsh, otherwise soil and timber like last mile; thence south 8 chains to a pine 12 inches in diameter marked 2 M. Timber, pine and oak. ¼ mile crossswaying."

The name Styx, first written and then crossed out, indicated some confusion in the minds of the commissioners. It will be remembered that the Long expedition mentioned what is now Fort creek as the Riviere des Bois, or Stick river, from the driftwood at its mouth, and that on the 1820 map the Little Calumet is marked as the Styx. When Jeremiah Smith surveyed the Kankakee region for the government a few years later he met

with such experiences that he suggested Styx as an appropriate name for that peculiar stream. This first survey of the Michigan road followed, approximately, the old Indian trail now occupied, as straightened, by the Yellow river road, and made the distance to Logansport seventy-four miles. But in conference with the governor the route was rejected because of the difficulties encountered in crossing the Kankakee marshes and a new survey was decided upon and made in the same year by way of the south bend of the St. Joseph river, 102 miles to Logansport. The course in Michigan City, and for six miles, was the same as in the first survey and was run October 31, 1828, the report being filed with the secretary of state December 9 following. The map accompanying this report, now nearly destroyed by decay and preserved in the land department of the state auditor's office, is the earliest map found giving an English name to our little stream. The field notes describe Trail creek as one hundred links wide some distance above the mouth, the soil as sandy, the timber as oak, beech, sugar, etc., and the underbrush as spice, with level land inclined to be wet for the first mile and rolling land for the second. Referring to this report in his message of 1829 Governor Ray said that the road "terminates at the mouth of the river Dysman, where a harbour for vessels may be easily made." The legislature, hoping to find better ground and straighter lines in places, ordered a new survey "by the south bend of the Big St. Joseph," but without changing the general route. This work was done and the report, signed by Chester Elliot alone and designated as the second survey, being the third in reality but the second ordered by the legislature, was filed June 12, 1829. The field notes for the first two miles are as follows:—

"Beginning at the mouth of Trail creek, or riviere du Chemin, a stream 1.25 lks. wide entering Lake Michigan 5 miles and 11 chains from where the shore of said lake is intersected by the north line of the state of Indiana, thence south 10 deg. east 5 lk., thence south 62 deg. east 15 lk. to a creek 15 lks. wide course NE, thence S 62 deg E 60 lk to a small white oak marked one mile. Dry sandy land, timber dwarfish oak, a good scite for a town but not for a harbor. 2nd mile. South 75 deg. east 40 lk. to a branch 12 lk. wide course northeast; same course 40 lk. to a black oak 10 inches in diameter marked 2 M. Soil second quality, timber oak and pine."

This line, like the second, followed closely the ancient Indian trail from the creek to the south side of Hudson lake, through Springville and Rolling Prairie, and crossed the old Sac trail at the "bootjack." Early in 1830 the actual construction of the road was begun at the Ohio river by Samuel Hanna of Wayne county, William Polke of Knox and Abraham McLelland of Sullivan as commissioners, and the contractors were urged northward as rapidly as possible. Later Noah Noble was appointed a commissioner and, under his supervision, William Polke was placed in charge of the northern division and assumed full control when Mr. Noble resigned to become governor in December, 1831. Judge Polke was indefatigable in his labors for the road and made frequent trips to the lake. In the winter of 1830-1 he carefully explored townships 36, 37 and 38 of ranges one to four, selecting the most desirable lands to be taken for the state under the government grant. In the ensuing spring he again went over the tracts to confirm his selections, and in the next winter he surveyed them in person. Among the sections chosen were 31 to 34, in and adjoining Michigan City. To General John Tipton he wrote June 14, 1831:—

"I find from actual examinations in the Indian country * * * a tract of country equal in point of soil, fertility and beauty to any part of the state, and which at this time excites as much, or more attention than any other part of the state."

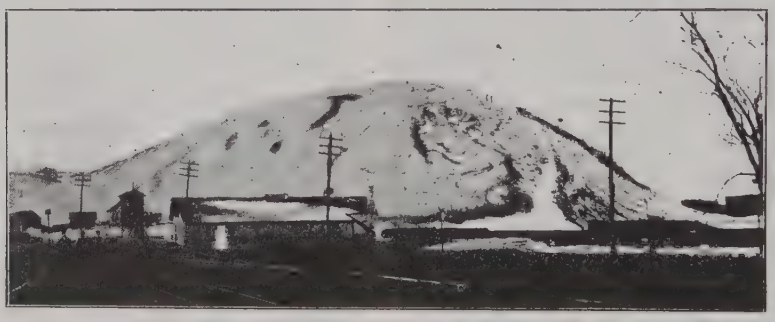
By the close of 1831 the road was open northward to Logansport and the next general assembly, February 2, 1832, appointed Judge Polke as commissioner for the remaining division, directing its completion between June 15 and November 30 of the same year, and authorized an alteration in the route "at Michigan City, a town lately laid off at the termination of said road on Lake Michigan, so as to enter Michigan street and pass along the same and Wabash street in said town to the terminus of said road." This is the first mention of the city in any public document or act of the state. The commissioner, with his powers now enlarged, at once set about the task imposed and caused new levels and measurements to be made preliminary to the letting of contracts, A. Van Ness being the surveyor employed. Various delays occurred and the road was not reported as finished to the lake until in December, 1833.

While Chester Elliot and his assistants were leaving the mouth of Trail creek bound south in the spring of 1829, as we have seen, another surveying party was approaching from the east, led by Thomas Brown, a United States deputy surveyor under contract to locate the boundaries of the congressional townships in the "new purchase" or "ten mile strip." On June 26 he ran the east and north lines of township 38 north of range four west now organized as Michigan township, and on the next day he ran the south and west lines. Of the country along what is now the southern part of the city he said in his field notes that the land was level and wet, mostly third grade; the timber consisted of oak, pine, poplar, elm, maple, hickory, etc., and the undergrowth was chiefly willow. Going west on the south line of section 35 he crossed Trail creek thus: "58.00—a stream 60 lks. wide, course NW, and enter wet prairie." He described the first mile of the west line in this way: "Land level, part wet; part broken, sandy hills, all 3d rate land. Timber pine, birch, aspen, etc.; Undergth willow." At the end of the fractional second mile, "on SE margin of L. Michigan," he set a post, of which he said: "This post stands on a high sand bank at least 30 ft. above a level with the lake. Land broken & sand barrens, former 4th rate at least." Two small black oaks a considerable distance away marked the location of the post. In the same year, November 2 to 8, 1829, Thomas Henderson, also a contracted deputy U. S. surveyor, subdivided the township by running the section lines and marking the corners, this constituting what is known as the government survey, now in use for the purpose of describing tracts of land in deeds and legal instruments.

The last visitor to the mouth of Trail Creek who left any account of the place prior to the arrival of the founders of Michigan City was an eccentric speculator named Jerry Church. In the summer of 1831, having traded for some goods at Door Prairie, he set out from that point for Chicago. He wrote:—

"I then took possession of the horse, wagon and goods, and started as a pedler once more. I had a hard time to get my wagon around the lake, and finally concluded that I would try a new route. I was then about twelve miles from the Dismaugh creek, which empties into the Michigan lake, where Michigan City now stands. That was in the year 1830. [This is manifestly a misprint for 1831.] As I was preparing to travel, a young man who lived in the neighborhood came there. He told me that he was going to Chicago with his sister, and would like to have my company through. I told

him that I was very thankful for the offer, and would probably have to get him to assist me with my carriage. He said he would do so, and took an axe with him. His sister rode on horseback and the young man went with me in the wagon. The first day we cleared a road and got down near to the lake and encamped. We spanseled our horses and turned them out, and struck up a smoke to keep off the musquitoes. When we prepared to go to bed, I gave the young lady my wagon for her bed room, and her brother and myself laid under it, and in the morning we gathered ourselves up, and again set off on our journey. We struck the lake where Michigan City now stands, ours being the first carriage of any kind that had ever been there; and there was not a white man lived within twelve miles of the place at that time. We then took the beach and followed it to Chicago. We had to camp out three nights."



HOOSIER SLIDE

The infatuated Black Hawk came to Trail creek in the fall of 1831, holding pow-wows at the villages and dancing grounds in the vicinity with the purpose of securing an alliance of the Pottawattomies with the Sacs and Foxes in the outbreak of the following spring—in which attempt he was frustrated by Topinabee, Pokagon, Chandonnais and others of friendly disposition toward the whites—but after Jerry Church the next visit of which we have any detailed account was that of the men who founded Michigan City, a visit which must be reserved for a later chapter. At this time the roads were few in number and open only to footmen and horsemen. The military express route from Fort Dearborn to Detroit and Fort Wayne had two lines to Trail creek from the west, one along the margin of the lake, the other an inland path around the head of Fort creek and used only when the weather was unfavorable for the more solid road on the beach. Passing toward the east the traveler would follow the well-worn trail up the Trail creek valley and across to Hudson lake and Niles and Detroit, or by way of Bootjack to the south bend of the St. Joseph and so on to Fort Wayne; or he might diverge by the Yellow river trail, which went to Logansport, and take the Sac trail at Les Petits Lacs—the little lakes—where LaPorte now is. There was some travel by the beach road to the mouth of the St. Joseph, and there was a little-used trail from the mouth of Trail creek to Lafayette through Porter county. The narratives contained in this chapter furnish all the descriptions we have of the region about Michigan City as it was when its founders arrived, except those in the field notes of the government surveyors who have been mentioned.

CHAPTER SIX.

The Michigan Road.

After winning the sovereignty, purchasing the soil and entering into possession of the valley of the ancient Riviere du Chemin, now become Trail creek under the dominion of the Hoosiers, the next step toward the foundation of a commercial city and safe harbor on the coast Indiana had wrested from Michigan was to make the chosen spot accessible by a road from the interior. The haven, the highway and the metropolis were all included in the early dreams of Indiana's future greatness, and Michigan City bears the distinction, almost unique, of having been in existence in design long before it was ever laid out even on paper. It was quite natural that out of the familiar mention among the statesmen of the road to Lake Michigan and the city on Lake Michigan there should grow the names now borne by the city and the road, and that the names should be in use before either came into being. The earliest mention of such a city occurred in the course of the discussion of the boundary question, an account of which appears in a former chapter. The road finds its first definite reference in the Pottawattomie treaty of October 16, 1826, at the Mississinewa. It was designed as a sort of north and south companion piece to the great national road passing through the state east and west by way of Indianapolis and to supplement the improvements on the old Sac trail and the dragoon trace connecting Chicago with Detroit and Fort Wayne, the two latter of which were authorized by treaty before the Indians ceded the lands through which they passed. The second article of the treaty of 1826, as it was ratified by the senate, is as follows:—

"As an evidence of the attachment which the Pattawatima tribe feel towards the American People, and particularly to the soil of Indiana, and with a view to demonstrate their liberality, and benefit themselves, by creating facilities for travelling and increasing the value of their remainng country, the said tribe do hereby cede to the United States a strip of land, commencing at Lake Michigan, and running thence on the Wabash river, one hundred feet wide, for a road, and also, one section of good land contiguous to the said road, for each mile of the same, and also for each mile of a road from the termination thereof, through Indianapolis to the Ohio river, for the purpose of making a road aforesaid from lake Michigan, by the way of Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio river."

The latter part of the original article, conferring power on the Indiana legislature to locate the road and apply the proceeds of the land to its construction, was stricken out and in lieu of it congress passed an act which became a law March 2, 1827, as follows:—

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the General Assembly of the State of Indiana shall be, and the same are hereby, authorized to locate and make a road from Lake Michigan, by the way of Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio river, agreeably

to the second article of a treaty made and concluded near the mouth of the Mississinowa, upon the Wabash, in the State of Indiana, the sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, between the Commissioners on the part of the United States and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Potawatamie tribe of Indians; and the said General Assembly are hereby authorized to apply the strip of land and the sections of land, by said article ceded to the United States, or the proceeds thereof, to the making of the same; and the said grant shall be at their sole disposal."

The road article was included in the treaty at the instance of Governor James B. Ray, by whose influence it was supplemented by the act of congress just quoted. In urging this act he was ably supported by Senator James Noble, whose son, Noah Noble, was one of the first commissioners for the road and succeeded Ray as governor, taking great interest in the road all through his term of office. Mrs. Dr. H. J. Thompson, now a resident of LaPorte, is his great granddaughter. When the general assembly next met after being clothed with the power conferred by the act of congress Governor Ray, in his annual message, called the attention of that body to the treaty and the supplementary act and urged prompt legislation thereon, expressing the opinion that the proposed road was of the highest importance to the state. He said that for commercial and military reasons the road was of national as well as state importance, as much so as any of the internal improvements in Indiana. The legislature thereupon passed the act, approved January 24, 1828, "to provide for surveying and marking a road from Lake Michigan to Indianapolis," of which the following are extracts:—

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana. That John McDonald of Davies County, Chester Elliott of Warwick County and John I. Neely of Gibson County be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to survey and mark a road from Lake Michigan to Indianapolis, agreeably to the late treaty with the Pottawattamie Indians, and the act of Congress in confirmation thereof. * * * The said commissioners shall proceed to examine all the bays, inlets and estuaries of rivers on that part of Lake Michigan lying within the state of Indiana in order to ascertain where the best harbor can be had, * * * and suitable site for a commercial town; and survey and mark a road by the most eligible route to Indianapolis. * * * And it shall be the duty of the commissioners aforesaid to deposit in the office of the Secretary of State, a plot of said road, together with their notes as aforesaid, which report shall be signed by the commissioners or a majority of them; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to lay the same before the General Assembly, at their next session."

The commissioners put themselves in motion immediately and were on the lake shore in May; having agreed that the mouth of Trail creek was "the most suitable site for a commercial town and the place where the best harbor could be had," they proceeded to locate the road, commencing at the creek June 12, as has been related in a former chapter.

The tendency of the roads in new settlements to follow the ancient Indian trails is constantly noted in the history of the country and the Michigan road was no exception, for the commissioners clung closely to the old trail from the lake to Logansport, known as the Yellow river trail, a distance of seventy-four miles from the lake to the Wabash. The distance between these points as the bird flies is seventy-two miles. From the Wabash to Indianapolis the distance by the road is seventy miles, while by a straight line it is sixty-nine. The route first chosen was rejected in conference without being submitted to the legislature, for the reason that it involved a

heavy expense in crossing the Kankakee river and marshes, and for the further reason that it was thought desirable to touch the St. Joseph river because of its navigability. A new line was accordingly run in October, making the distance from Trail creek to the south bend of the St. Joseph thirty-four miles and thence to the Wabash sixty-eight; the first being two miles longer than by a direct line because of the necessity for avoiding the Galien marshes, and the second being four miles longer because of the occurrence of many swamps in Marshall and Fulton counties.

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The second survey found favor with Governor Ray and was submitted to the general assembly at the next session, 1829, together with a strong paragraph in the governor's annual message urging its adoption and legislation authorizing the work to proceed. The governor said that the road offered the means of aiding the people to drive on foot to the lake their cattle and hogs, there to be slaughtered, barreled and shipped to market; that the lake would become a place of deposit for other materials and a point from which foreign salt and other supplies would be brought into the interior and that the road "terminates at the mouth of the river Dysman, where a harbour for vessels may be easily made." The legislature thought that perhaps the route might be improved upon, so, providing for the payment of expenses already incurred, it ordered another survey for the purpose of finding better ground and straighter lines in places, but directed that the general route by way of the south bend of the Big St. Joseph should not be changed. Chester Elliott did this work and made the report, without materially altering the route previously chosen; the governor submitted in his annual message another powerful appeal for immediate action, and the legislature, by an act approved January 13, 1830, approved the survey. In the meantime similar work

had been in progress on the division south of Indianapolis and the general assembly appointed Samuel Hanna of Wayne county, Abraham McLelland of Sullivan county and William Polke of Knox county as commissioners "to locate finally and absolutely" the section between Madison and Greensburgh. The actual construction began at Madison that same spring and was rapidly pushed toward the north.

At this time Major Isaac C. Elston of Crawfordsville was prominent in business affairs and in state politics and had a wide acquaintance among public men. He knew all about the Michigan road and the projected city on the lake and he talked with the commissioners about the lay of the ground at the mouth of Trail creek. He had already made some money in town site speculations. The lands in the ten-mile strip ceded by the treaty of 1826 were offered for sale the first Monday in October, 1830, at the Crawfordsville land office, in accordance with a proclamation issued June 15 by President Jackson, and Major Elston, November 6, bought at private entry, at $1.25 per acre, the northwest quarter of section 29, township 38 north, range 4 west, being the fractional quarter containing the mouth of Trail creek. He paid cash and received certificate number 12,892, on which the patent was issued February 3, 1831. The land was proclaimed and sold under the provisions of section three of the act of April 24, 1820. Though he had never seen the place he made the purchase for the purpose of laying out "the commercial city on Lake Michigan" that was so much talked about and was already referred to as "the Michigan city." The first entry in LaPorte county had been made by Eber Woolman three days earlier, on Hudson lake, and Elston's was the thirteenth entry in the county. November 9 Elston purchased the west half of the northeast quarter of the same section, certificate number 12,932, which gave him more of the creek, and May 13, 1831, he entered the southwest quarter of the section. Later, after inspecting the property, he entered the southeast quarter of the same section and other lands in the vicinity.

After the southern division of the road was well under way, occupying the summer and fall of 1830, and Noah Noble had become a commissioner, he and William Polke were charged with the preliminary work for the northern section, which comprised the selection of the lands donated by the Indians through the federal government to the state. Judge Polke took this in his care, being thoroughly familiar with the Indian country, and made several visits to the northern terminus that fall. All that winter he spent exploring the fertile prairies of LaPorte county to find the most desirable lands for the state under the grant, and in the following spring he went over the tracts again to confirm his selections. The legislature in January, 1831, received the reports of progress and the governor's reference to the road in his message with gratification and made allowance for the expenditures, all of which gave an impetus to the public interest in the undertaking and advertised the city that was soon to be. Judge Polke's schedule of sections selected for the Michigan road lands was submitted to congress and received the approval of that body, Senator William Hendricks and Representative Ratliff Boone being especially active in getting the matter through without delay.

By act of February 4, 1831, provision was made for the payment of contractors on the road by scrip, which was exchangeable for Michigan road lands. James and A. P. Andrew constructed fifteen miles of the road commencing at Madison and received their scrip, which

they concluded to use in the purchase of lands in the new country toward the lake if they could find desirable tracts. In the autumn of 1831 they made a prospecting tour to this county, in company with General Walter Wilson of Logansport, Dr. Hiram Todd, John Walker and two or three others, guided by a half-breed named Joe Truckee, who had been with the road surveyors on their first trips, and coming directly up the line of the unfinished but already traveled state highway to the Sac trail, where they diverged and came to LaPorte, arriving in October. The Andrews came from their home near Cincinnati. This party founded LaPorte, which is situated on Michigan road land bought by them at that time. In the same month Major Elston arrived at the mouth of Trail creek, in company with General Joseph Orr and others, to inspect his property and lay out his town. There is ground for the conjecture of Rev. E. D. Daniels, in his "History of LaPorte County," that these two parties traveled together. How Orr helped Elston adjust his predrawn plat of the town to the lay of the ground will be shown in a later chapter. That fall the road was reported as completed and open for travel as far north as to Logansport, and Polke spent the winter surveying the sections he had selected and that congress had confirmed. In December, 1831, Noah Noble resigned as commissioner to become governor and his first annual message to the general assembly resulted in the act approved February 2, 1832, under which William Polke was elected commissioner with power to complete the road and sell the lands. He built a small house on the north bank of the Tippecanoe river near the road, which was the first frame house on the road north of the Wabash and is still occupied as a farm residence, and there he removed his family from Knox county and established his office. His first care, after ascertaining the extent of his legal powers, was to cause new levels to be made as a preliminary to letting contracts for construction, and the next was to raise the necessary money by selling the lands touching the line of the road. A. Van Ness made the new survey in May, as is related in another chapter. A story used to be told to the effect that this survey was interrupted by objections raised by Indians, but the fact is that the trouble occurred when Polke was engaged in surveying the lands included in the third clause of the treaty grant, covering one section for each mile of the length of the road from the Wabash to the Ohio. Incited by certain traders who wished to postpone the removal of the Indians as long as possible, some young chiefs set up the claim that the treaty, notwithstanding its clear terms, was intended to convey only the strip for the road and one section, through which it should pass, for each mile from the lake to the Wabash. When Polke began his final survey of the sections distant from the road, under the third clause, he was stopped. He went to Colonel Stewart, the Indian agent at the Carey mission, and they sent for General Tipton, then living at Logansport and just elected United States senator, who had been one of the negotiators of the treaty. General Grover of the Fort Wayne agency came also. They conferred with Chandonnais, who easily extricated them from the difficulty by giving a great barbecue and firewater feast. At that period the public conscience was more tolerant towards the use of whisky than now. On the first Monday in June, as the act prescribed, Judge Polke held the sale at South Bend, offering the sections contiguous to the road. This included the south tier of Michigan township, but no one at that sale bought land near Michigan City. The commissioner, in his report, said

that the sale was disappointing for the reason that the Black Hawk scare had not yet subsided. A second sale, with better results, was held at Logansport in the ensuing October, at which a number of sales of tracts lying close to Michigan City were effected, the investors being Samuel Weston, John Sailor, H. McGiven and James Laughlin of LaPorte county, Isaac Elston of Montgomery county and John Walker of Shelby county, all of whom became characters of historical interest at Michigan City.

In the meantime the contracts had been let and the work of construction was in progress. Among those who held such contracts on the northern section were Jacob Rush, David Dinwiddie, John. Walker, John Sailor, Elijah H. Brown, Wilson Malone, Robert S. Morrison, Judah Leaming, Alexander Blackburn, John Dickey and Arthur McClure, all of whom located in Michigan City or in the county. Jacob R. Hall was another whose connection with the road at that time brought him to this county. The winter of 1831-2 had been unusually severe and had delayed the work on the southern portion, causing the legislature to grant seven months additional time for completion, and the same thing happened this year. Commissioner Polke reported to the general assembly that he had been hindered by the weather, by the delay in selling the lands, by difficulties in securing sufficient workmen, and by the fact that people insisted on impeding the laborers by traveling over the road before it was ready. At his request the legislature extended the time fixed by the act of 1832 for completing the road and in December he reported that it was finished and open for general use from the lake to the Wabash. As a matter of fact it had been quite extensively used all through the year 1833. At the March term of the LaPorte county commissioners that year mention was made of the road as being open to the lake and in the same month a stage line between Detroit and Chicago was established the wagons of which ran into Michigan City from Bootjack on the new road.

A writer in the Historical Atlas of Indiana, 1876, said of the Michigan road that "this celebrated highway enjoyed a merited reputation far and near, for many years, as being the worst thoroughfare in the universe;" but that is about the sentiment expressed by every traveler of every road in all new regions. Judge Polke was highly commended by the governor and by the general assembly for the manner in which he performed his work as commissioner. That the road was practically impassable, as some have said, is negatived by the fact that it was in constant use. In Polke's report to the legislature of 1834, announcing the completion of his labors, he said:—

"The uncommon emigration to the north, and the amount of merchandise (principally salt and other heavy articles) which has been transported from South Bend, Michigan City, and other places to the Wabash, &c. in the unfinished state of the road, has much impeded the progress of the work, and materially injured the same, before it became sufficiently settled for carriages to pass over it with ease and facility."

He also said that this premature use of the line caused in making repairs an expense of much time and money that ought to have been given to original construction. Beginning with the opening of the road there came to Michigan City a large forwarding business and for years thereafter grain and farm produce was hauled to the warehouses on the lake from as far as Indianapolis. As Governor Ray had never failed in his annual messages to urge the importance of constructing the road his foresight had provided for in the treaty of 1826 so

his successor, Governor Noble, annually pressed the general assembly to maintain and improve it. Governor Wallace, whose incumbency began at the close of 1837, never referred to the matter in any of his public papers. February 2, 1837, the legislature, acting on the suggestion of the executive, enacted a law for the improvement of the Michigan Road, the particular incentive being the fact that congress had in the preceding summer appropriated $20,000 for the

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH

harbor at Michigan City. Charles W. Cathcart in the senate and Charles McClure in the lower branch, representing LaPorte county, were instrumental in getting into the act a specification that the improved road should include LaPorte in its course, (from South Bend to the lake, as it was understood though not stated) and they warmly advocated the proposed betterment. Julius W. Adams was designated by the legislature as the engineer to view the route and submit a plan of improvements with an estimate of the cost. He made a very thorough survey, taking levels and measurements for the entire length of the line, and, omitting LaPorte because of the impracticability of diverting the road already constructed, followed the original Michigan road to its terminus at the intersection of Michigan and Spring streets in Michigan City, the newly erected government of the city having control of the remainder of the line to the margin of the lake. He found that the surface of the lake at its ordinary level was 140 feet below the base of the old capitol at Indianapolis. Adams finished his report December 20 of the same year and filed it on the 29th, to be submitted to the legislature the following month. It was found that he had designed, estimated and recommended a fantastic scheme to boulevard the entire length and width of the road with hexagonal block pavement and "grillage." In the exalted mood that was upon this optimistic surveyor that season he saw visions of a long reach, mighty in its breadth and length, binding the southernmost waters of Hoosierdom with those on the far northern boundary, in its gracious windings accommodating itself to the needs of men and the difficulties of nature, lined with fair cities and lovely homes, and its entire extent converted into a Parisian dream by the use of the Adams grillage and hexagonal blocks.

The country was in a frenzy of internal improvement at that time but the magnificence of this new proposal was startling to the wise men of Indiana when it burst upon them in January, 1838. It soon transpired, however, that the scheme had powerful support in the lobbies and gradually it was learned that a prodigious graft was being attempted;

only with great difficulty was it defeated, Cathcart, with his strong personality and impressive eloquence, and McClure with his vote going against it. From the Adams report one item of information is extracted:—

"The distance now travelled in a day by a six horse waggon and load (taking the road at its average state) does not average 12 miles. Allowing this as the distance travelled daily, and it will require 14 days to make the trip from Indianapolis to Michigan City; taking the daily expenses of a horse at 30 cents, and we find the cost to the waggoner for horse feed to be $25.20 in transporting 4500 lbs. from this to Michigan City."

The panic of 1837 stopped all the works of internal improvement in the state and left the treasury bankrupt. It also ended a hopeful plan of that year by which the state was to construct a railroad to the lake along the Michigan road, by its side. In the legislature of 1844 it was officially declared that the road was finished, the lands all sold and the accounts closed, whereupon the office of Michigan road commissioner was abolished and the road itself turned over to the several counties through which it passes for the purposes of maintenance. Many ill-advised efforts have been made by contiguous property owners to reduce its width and some litigation has grown out of such attempts. The latest proposal looking to its improvement is a suggestion which has met with considerable favor, that the road be turned over to the state board of forestry for the purpose of including it in the forestry tract and planting it with trees, making it one of the most beautiful as well as useful avenues in the world. "It is a matter of state, as well as of local pride," writes one newspaper correspondent, "to thus make restoration of the Michigan road, originally cut out of virgin forest, by filling it with trees, and generations to come will enjoy the blessing, while the present generation will derive some benefit from the improvement. Indiana could do nothing that would add more to her glory than to make a grand avenue of living forest trees through the length of her domain on the old Michigan road and then boulevarding the highway the whole distance from Lake Michigan to the Ohio river."

A meeting of citizens of Chicago was held August 5, 1833, to determine by vote whether or not they would assume the functions of an incorporated town. Thirteen votes were cast. Five days later the first election for town trustees was held and twenty-eight votes were cast. It is believed that every legal voter in the place cast his vote on that occasion. The statute required a population of one hundred and fifty for incorporation. About that same date Jerry Church was in Michigan City and said of it "it is quite a town and called a city." In October Charles Cleaver came and he said there were then probably about fifty inhabitants. The two places were not far apart in size. Chicago's estuary was not as favorable for harbor purposes as that of Trail creek, and there was every reason to anticipate for Michigan City a position of supremacy in the commerce of the lake. It was by force of circumstances beyond the control of man that the wonderful western metropolis grew up elsewhere than at the foot of Hoosier Slide, for energy and intelligence were not lacking among the founders and builders of Michigan City. The men who established the town and its first business enterprises were brought to the spot by the influence of the Michigan road.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

Founding the City.

The unknown author of the brief sketches of the towns and townships included in the historical atlas of LaPorte county published in 1874 says of the beginning of Michigan City:—"It was laid out by Major Elstin and Samuel Miller. Gen. Orr joined the Major and his company at Crawfordsville, and accompanied them in the Fall of 1831 to Michigan City. The Major had just purchased the site, and with his party was intending to lay off his town, but on reaching the spot he found his prepared plat did not square with the shore of the lake and the bank of Trail creek. The General, being something of a draftsman, quickly settled the question by drawing one that did with his finger on a draft-board of clear sand, and for which he received a present of a corner lot." This acount is taken almost verbatim from a biographical sketch of the life of General Joseph Orr, written by himself and published in the same volume. In the sketch of Michigan township in the same book appears this statement:—"Major Elstin purchased the land where Michigan City now stands, of the Government in 1831, laid out the town in 1832." The statement first quoted is copied in the account of the city in the historical atlas of the state issued in 1876. Jasper Packard, in his history of the county, 1876, says:—"The land on which Michigan City, is now located was purchased of the government in 1831, by Isaac C. Elston, of Crawfordsville, Indiana, and he laid out the town in October, 1832. * * * The first settlers in Michigan City arrived in 1833." "The Elston survey of Michigan City was located on the fractional section twenty-nine. * * * The plat of Michigan City was filed for record in October, 1833." In the Chapman history of the county, 1880, the author, said to have been "a Presbyterian preacher of LaPorte," speaks of events in 1832 as follows:—"It is this year that we have the first intimations of the now prosperous city of Michigan City. The lands on which the city now is situated were purchased of the Government by Major Isaac C. Elston, of Crawfordsville, at the land sales of last year; and in October of this year he laid out the town. * * * He believed that at this point a harbor could be made. His penetration as he looked at Trail creek * * * enabled him to appreciate its value, hence his purchase. * * * All that we find of Michigan City this year is the plat as surveyed by its proprietor."

T. H. Ball, in his "Northwestern Indiana," 1900, a book of the highest value to the student of history of this section, says:—"There was a sale of government lands at Logansport in October, 1831, and at this sale Major Isaac C. Elston, of Crawfordsville, is said to have purchased the lands on which is now Michigan City, and to have laid out town lots in October, 1832." "The town plat of Michigan City had been recorded in 1833." In "Michigan City Illustrated," published by the Michigan City News in

1900, we are told that "the first white settler, and the man who laid out the settlement, was Major Isaac Elston, who came here in 1832 and constructed a primitive cabin. * * Major Elston was accompanied by several hardy frontiersmen, all skilled in woodcraft, who had come to carve for themselves homes in the forest." And, finally, we have the account given by Rev. E. D. Daniels in his admirable and monumental history of LaPorte county, 1904, to this effect: "The land for the original plat of Michigan City was purchased by Major Isaac C. Elston, of Crawfordsville, Indiana, at the sale of the Michigan Road lands in Lafayette, Indiana, at the government price of $1.25 per acre. * * * This gentleman had the sagacity to foresee that amid the splendid resources of the county and the grand commercial position which it presented, Michigan City was destined to hold no 'inconsiderable' rank among the flourishing towns in the western world. In October, 1832, when the commissioners came to the county to locate the seat of justice, we find Major Elston busily engaged in laying out the original plat of Michigan City. * * * The original plat was recorded September 17, 1833."

Such is the information, and all of it, that can be gleaned from the published histories of Michigan City concerning the laying out of the town and the inducements thereto. Nearly every statement is erroneous, and none of the writers gave the subject the notice its importance demands in a history of the oldest and largest municipality in the county, in the founding of which the entire state was deeply interested.

It was November 6 and 9, 1830, that Major Elston made the first purchases of land at the site of Michigan City. At that time the talk of an Indiana harbor on Lake Michigan had been running all through the course of the boundary dispute, which, as a previous chapter states, was then at its height. One of the leading thoughts in providing for the Michigan road had been to lead a highway from the interior of the state to the most favorable spot for such a harbor and for the commercial city that was confidently expected to grow up there. That point had been selected by the first board of road commissioners and confirmed by the legislature, and it was certain that the road would soon be actually under construction. Already there was talk of memorializing congress in behalf of an appropriation for the harbor and there was no reason to doubt that Indiana, with its very limited coast line, would be favored with one such improvement at the national expense. Isaac C. Elston was a prominent man in the state, he knew all about these things and had seen the report and map of the road commissioners, and when that fall the government put up the land for sale at the land office in Crawfordsville, where he lived, he was ready to select and enter the tract he wanted, though he had never seen it. He bought the land containing the first half mile of Trail creek, fully understanding that it was barren sand and utterly useless except for his purpose of laying out the long anticipated town. His first entries covered the fractional northwest quarter and the west half of the northeast quarter of section 29, at the mouth of the creek, and May 13 following, the intervening legislature having carried the road a step further and the optimistic talk of the coming lake metropolis having increased, he extended his holding, still without seeing it, by taking in the southwest quarter of the same section. He had seen Commissioner Polke at Indianapolis, beyond doubt, and knew that he was not buying farm land.

Some confusion has grown out of the fact that this land was sold by the fed-

eral government instead of by the state of Indiana, it being apparently included in the grant to the state. The treaty of 1826 ceded to the United States "a strip of land commencing at Lake Michigan and running thence on the Wabash River, 100 feet wide for a road and also one section of good land contiguous to the said road, for each mile of the same, and also for each mile of the road from the termination thereof, through Indianapolis to the Ohio River." By the act of congress of 1827 the general assembly of Indiana was authorized to locate and make the road agreeably to the treaty and "to apply the strip of land and sections of land by said article ceded to the United States or the proceeds thereof to the making of the same and the said grant shall be at their sole disposal." The road was located in 1829 and confirmed by the state in the following January, and the route was through sections 28 and 29, at the lake terminal; but the list of sections contiguous to the road and of the other sections selected for each mile of the road was not reported to congress for confirmation until in 1831. In the meantime the "new purchase" had been thrown open to sale at the Crawfordsville land office in October, 1830, and Elston had made his entries. After congress confirmed the Michigan road land selections in 1831 the unsold tracts were withdrawn from the government sale and the state made other selections equal in extent to the land sold which fell within the grant, namely, that at Michigan City.

PINE STREET SOUTH FROM SIXTH STREET

In the fall of 1831 it was supposed that the road would be opened to the lake within the coming year, so Major Elston prepared to visit the site of his proposed town and lay it out. He had a plat prepared in advance, constructed from the maps of the road commission, covering the ground south of the creek to Market street and between Wabash and Spring streets. In October he set out on his journey into the Indian country. He left no account of his trip to

the lake nor of his proceedings there, but General Joseph Orr was with him and forty years later he wrote a brief paragraph about it in a sketch of his own life for publication in the county atlas of 1874, which has been quoted above.

Between the early spring of 1829 and that of 1830 settlements were made in each of the six LaPorte county townships along the old Sac trail. Benajah Stanton said that when he came to the county in 1830 "there was but one cabin between LaPorte and Michigan City," which could not have been far from the trail named. Some time in 1831, it is stated in Packard's county history, Judah Leaming located at Springville, in Springfield township, and erected a log cabin. There was no settlement of any kind in Galena or Coolspring townships until 1833. It has been conjectured that Road Commissioner Polke may have had a cabin as early as 1831 at the lake terminal of the Michigan road, but there is not a particle of evidence that it was so and his movements up to that time show no reason why he should want one.

When the Elston expedition, therefore, arrived at the mouth of Trail creek there was not a cabin or a house of any kind in the county north of the Sac trail except the one Benajah Stanton saw in Center township and possibly the Leaming house at Springville. The site of the city was in the virgin state of nature, save that the ancient and well-worn trail from the east led down the left bank of the creek to the margin of the lake, the freshly-driven stakes marking the line of the Michigan road were to be seen, and a path where Jerry Church had but a few weeks before broken through the brush on his way to the lake with the first wheeled vehicle ever brought there was visible. Church, who was usually an accurate journalist, said that when he was there no white man lived within from nine to twelve miles of the place. General Packard's description of the spot chosen for Indiana's future commercial port, as first viewed by its promoter, runs thus:—"The town site was one that was rather forbidding, much of it being low and swampy. A growth of pine trees covered most of the spot, and there were some sugar maple trees. Trail creek slowly made its way over the sands to the lake, winding around by the very foot of Hoosier Slide, a deep sluggish stream, which was obstructed by a bar at the mouth, where so little water passed over that a person could readily cross it on foot. Yet it was believed that at this point a harbor could be made."

The proprietor of the town, on this first visit in 1831, did not survey the lines and establish the street corners, but contented himself with a rough outline stepped off on the ground, sufficient to give him the correct relations between his previously drawn plat, as altered by General Orr, with the creek, lake shore and Michigan road. He adopted for his town the name by which it had been familiarly spoken of at Indianapolis for some time, Michigan City. This accomplished he returned to his home, his stay having been quite brief. At the general assembly that winter he had several interests connected with his enterprise: one was to aid in pushing along the legislation necessary to the rapid completion of the Michigan road; another was to have included in the act a provision authorizing the alteration of the line of the road in Michigan City, where, as laid out, it cut through the town plat at a very awkward angle. In both purposes he succeeded. A favorable bill was passed, and it included this clause: "And said commisioner is authorized to make such alteration at Michigan City, a town lately laid off at the termination of said road on Lake Michigan, so as to enter Michigan street and pass along the

same and Wabash street in said town to the termination of said road." Other proceedings of moment to him at that session were the creation of LaPorte county, the appointment of commissioners to locate the county seat and the election of a Michigan road commissioner. For the latter position William Polke was the logical and successful candidate. In the senate, at that session, the district composed of Randolph, Delaware, Allen, Elkhart and St. Joseph counties was represented by Samuel Hanna of Fort Wayne, this being the third of his six terms in the legislature, of which he served three terms in each branch. In the house George Crawford of Elkhart, afterwards of LaPorte county, was serving the first of five terms, representing at this time the counties of Allen, LaGrange, Elkhart and St. Joseph. Among the members were General Joseph Orr and Major John M. Lemon in the senate and E. A. Hannegan and James Rariden in the house, all of whom figure in the history of LaPorte county. Orr was in the last of five terms and Lemon in the last of eight; both removed to this county. Rariden was eight terms in the general assembly and two in congress, besides sitting as a member of the constitutional convention of 1851; Hannegan was twice in the legislature, twice in the lower house of congress and six years in the senate, and for a time was a resident of Michigan City. Of the members in the previous year two were attracted to the county by the legislative interest in the road—John Sering, who had four terms, and Abel Lomax, who was elected nine consecutive years.

The act creating LaPorte county was approved January 9, 1832, to be effective April 1, and it named as the commissioners to locate the county seat Samuel Lewis of Allen county, Isaac Coleman of Fountain, Andrew Ingraham of Clinton, Levi Thornton of Tippecanoe and Merritt S. Craig of Ripley, who were directed to meet "on the second Monday in May next, at the house of David Pagan, in said county of LaPorte," in the "discharge of the duties assigned them by law." They were to be notified of their selection before April 1 by the sheriff of Carroll county. The boundary of the county ran as follows:—"Beginning at the state line which divides the state of Indiana and Michigan Territory, and at the northwest corner of township No. 38, north of range No. 4, west of the second principal meridian; thence running east with said state line to the center of range No. 1 west of said meridian; thence south 22 miles; thence west, parallel with the said state line, 21 miles; thence north to the place of beginning." This, it will be observed by reference to the map, differs from the present county boundary, and it includes a triangular piece of the lake six miles on one side and nearly four on the other. Governor Noble, pursuant to law, appointed Benjamin McCarty sheriff pro tem for the new county and issued a writ of election for the choice of the first officers.

As required by the governor's writ he gave notice dated March 29 of an election to be held on the second Monday of April, 1832, for which purpose he divided the county into two districts by the line between ranges two and three. All qualified voters of the county east of the line were notified to vote at the house of Nathan B. Nichols, and all west at the house of Arba Heald, the returns to be made at the house of Jacob Miller on the ensuing Wednesday. The election was held as directed April 9 and from the returns the sheriff certified the election of Jacob Miller and Judah Leaming as associate judges; Elijah H. Brown, Isaac Morgan and C. W. Brown as commissioners, and George Thomas as clerk and recorder. The votes cast numbered fifty-five, of

which twenty-five were in the west district, containing Michigan City. May 28 the commissioners met at LaPorte, organized the board and proceeded to transact the business of the new county. The first enactment was the division of the county into three townships by the two western range lines. All of range four within the county was named New Durham township in memory of Durham, Greene county, New York, the early home of Mrs. Miriam Benedict, one of the first settlers near Westville. Officers were appointed and elections for township officers were ordered. The voting in New Durham township took place June 16, 1832, and Elisha Newhall was elected justice of the peace. At the next term grand and petit juries were drawn and elections were ordered to be held in the several townships on the first Tuesday in August for school commissioners. Of these elections the returns were not preserved.

If the county seat commissioners met at all in May, as enjoined upon them by the act appointing them, they did not visit the county, and were probably deterred by the Black Hawk scare in that month. In October Commissioners Coleman, Thornton and Craig appeared at LaPorte, accompanied by Andrew W. Snodgrass, who acted with them under some authority not now known. Craig was a prominent lawyer of Versailles and had served four legislative terms; his father, George Craig, built the first mill and the first court house in Ripley county and when a member of the senate was the author of the so-called "rolling penitentiary bill," which, had it passed, would have set the state convicts to work on the roads. Thornton was one of the earliest settlers in Tippecanoe county. In order to be in readiness to present the cause of his new town in the contest about to be waged for the county seat Major Elston was on the ground before they arrived in the county and when they came he was busily engaged in laying out a corrected plat. Again we are uninformed as to his companions, but we know that Samuel Miller, of whom more will be said later, was there and Asa Harper was also with him.

In the county atlas of 1874 this statement is found in the sketch of Michigan City:—"Asa Harper helped survey the city." In Packard's history, written two years later, the author says of Mr. Harper:—"He came to the county in 1833, and assisted in surveying the town of Michigan City." A sketch of Mr. Harper's life, for which he furnished the material, is in the Chapman history of 1880 and this passage occurs:—"When he was of age, in 1832, he settled in LaPorte, whence he afterward moved to Michigan City." Asa Harper was a shipbuilder and carpenter at Michigan City twenty years before he retired, in 1856, to the farm where he died near Waterford; and it would seem strange that he did not state the fact of his connection with the survey of the city, if it was true, except that the sketch is exceedingly brief, eleven lines, and only essential dates are given. On the other hand, General Packard knew him and in all probability took the statement from his own lips, thus confirming the preceding writer. With the aid of Harper, then, the major staked out the town according to his perfected plat. This must have been done and the county seat decision must have been reached early in October in order that all parties interested might travel to Logansport in season for the sales of the Michigan road lands in that month.

In April of that year six entries were made of lands in or adjoining the present city. On the tenth Major Elston entered the east half of the southeast quarter of section 29, and Joseph Duncan, for whom an addition and a street were

named, bought the east half of the northeast quarter of the same section, with the fraction of the adjoining section 20 on the north, and the east half of the northeast quarter of section 30, thus giving him a good part of the creek and also the lake beach on each side of the town plat. Ten days later William Nichols bought the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 28, and the day after that Elston purchased the northeast quarter of the same section. This last tract and the east half of the northeast quarter of section 33, bought October 8, were taken for the timber; it was expected to be usefully converted into lumber for building the city.

THE PIER

The original plat as settled upon at this time included so much land as was bounded on the north by the beach and the south bank of the creek; on the south by Market street; on the west by a line half way between Wabash and Buffalo streets; on the east by a line half way between Spring and Cedar streets, except that the southwest corner of Duncan's entry cut somewhat into this line. The plat was not filed at the office of the county recorder until September 17, 1833, by which time the original proprietor had added the sixteen blocks between Market, Ninth, Wabash and Spring streets. It is transcribed at page 6 of book A of deed records. The original map used by Elston and bearing his entries of the names of purchasers of lots, some in pencil and some in ink, is in the possession of his son, Major Isaac C. Elston, who succeeded his father in the management of Elston's bank at Crawfordsville. It is weather-worn and broken by much handling in all sorts of weather and shows spots that were made by the snow and rain of three quarters of a century ago, and in places the folds have worn through the paper, which is pasted on cloth, and rendered the lines and writing illegible. Every effort should be put forth to secure this valuable relic of the city's incipiency for the public library where it can be permanently preserved as a sacred document. It bears the following inscription, unsigned:—

"Michigan City was laid out by Isaac C. Elston in October, 1832, is situated on the Southern Margin of Lake Michigan at the Mouth of Trail Creek in the North West Frac. and the West Half of the North East Quarter of Sec. 29 in Township No. 38 North of Range No. 4 West. The lots are 82½ feet front by 165 back, with the exception of those fronting on Front Street and lots No. 1 & 4 in block No. 5 & fronting [here several words are illegible] are 55 feet front

by 145 back; and the latter are 72½ feet front by 165 back,—Michigan and Wabash Streets are each 100 feet wide—Washington & Franklin Streets are each 82½ feet wide—Fourth Street is 75 feet wide, and all the others are 66 feet wide—the alleys are 15 feet wide—the streets cross each other at right angles and bear N. 20 deg. W. by N. 70 deg. E. Megnetically or N. 14 W. by N. 76 E. Astronomically. Wabash Street extends to the Lake."

The date of this plat is quite naturally the date of its amendment and adoption, no lots having as yet been sold. The purchases from the government which have been noted in the foregoing pages cover all of section 29 except the west half of the southeast quarter, a tract in the very center of the city, including Franklin and Washington streets south of Fifth. Every piece of land in and adjoining the present city was entered before this was and there was considerable rivalry in securing the land on which the city was expected to grow. It is impossible to explain the omission to file on this particular lot at that time unless it was supposed to be included in Elston's entry, as his plat of it seemed to indicate. He entered it July 1, 1834, after he had included it in his plat but before he had sold any of the lots in that part.

When the locating commissioners reached the county they found six candidates for their preferment in selecting the place for the county seat. On the Lac du Chemin, now Hudson lake, was the first permanent settlement in the county. Rev. Robert Simerwell, of the old Carey mission, had a Baptist school there for the Indians; the late Asa M. Warren, whom the Indians called the Wishtean-bish—the blacksmith by the lake—had his shop there; Jack Jones had a trading cabin; Joseph Bay had a boarding house, and Joseph W. Lykins and two or three others lived near by. At Door Village John Welsh and his son had a store. Arba Heald lived in a cabin. General Joseph Orr and quite a number of others were located in the vicinity. John Wills and his sturdy family of sons, with a few others, lived at or near Bootjack. Judah Leaming had a few neighbors at Springville. There was a small settlement about the site of LaPorte, which was not yet platted or named. Michigan City made the sixth candidate. All but the two last named were soon eliminated for want of inducements, and as between these two there was an intense rivalry. The parties interested in both sites were all on the ground and Major Elston stood singlehanded and alone against General Wilson, Colonel Walker, Captain Andrew, Dr. Todd, James Andrew, and all the Sac trail settlers, General Orr with the rest. Financially the two proposals were not greatly apart, each including every other lot of the original plat of the projected town, the lots necessary for county buildings and a stated sum in cash. Elston urged with all his force that Michigan City ought to be made the county seat for the reason that there, where the Michigan road led to the only harbor in Indiana, the greatest city in the county would of necessity arise in the near future. The LaPorteans laid stress on the statutory requirement that the public buildings should be located as near to the center of the county as convenience would admit. Until his death May 18, 1906, there dwelt at LaPorte, with his memory unimpaired notwithstanding his great age, Judge William P. Andrew, who, then an ambitious young man of twenty-three years, was present throughout the county seat contest. To Mr. Daniels he gave his recollections of the occasion for use in the county history of 1904, wherein the account is thus written:—

"The visit of the commissioners to locate the county seat occasioned a great deal of interest among the settlers, and as the commissioners rode back and forth between the two rival places to listen to the arguments of each for receiving the county seat, they were accompanied by several interested gentlemen. * * * After canvassing the matter thoroughly for several days, the commissioners finally decided upon LaPorte as the proper place for the county seat. One thing which led them to this decision was, that the gentlemen interested for LaPorte outnumbered those interested for Michigan City. They were men of strong personalities, and no doubt the commissioners felt a stronger persuasive power on behalf of LaPorte. Again, the locality of LaPorte was much more inviting than that of Michigan City. The latter place at that time was rather forbidding, being comparatively low and swampy, and mostly covered with pine trees. LaPorte, on the contrary, was a beautiful spot, possessing even at the beginning every advantage for a pleasant and prosperous town. But the chief reason for locating the county seat at LaPorte was, that it was the most central place. * * * It was held, even with the county lines where they then were, that Michigan City was too far north of the center, and that it would be unfair to require the inhabitants of the southern part of the county to travel so far to their county seat. * * * The LaPorte gentlemen did not offer any greater financial inducements than Major Elston did; it was the advantage of its being a central locality that induced the five commissioners to locate the seat of justice in LaPorte."

The four commissioners (including Snodgrass), not five, were in all likelihood impressed with Michigan City's prospects for becoming a great commercial port, for the whole state was talking about it, but they could not get away from the law compelling them to choose a spot as near the center of the county as possible, and besides at that time the settlements were almost wholly along the Sac trail and that route was the one by which the emigration was then coming into the county. Major Elston was at Logansport October 8, as we have seen, buying timber land, and October 22, at Crawfordsville, he redeemed his promise to General Orr by deeding him a lot. He did not regard the commissioners' selection as final and always thought, while he was an owner of lots at Michigan City, that the town would eventually outstrip LaPorte so far as to make the removal of the county seat desirable to a majority of the citizens of the county. That opinion was not held by him alone and it persisted for many years, arising at every apparent opportunity. There was talk about a change in the next year, 1833, when the county commissioners were preparing to let the contract for building the first court house. Ten years later, when the first building began to show signs of falling down, and from that time until contracts were awarded for a new temple of justice in 1847, the question of removing the county seat was discussed and warmly agitated. The interest was such that public meetings were held, several articles were written for the local papers, editorials, sometimes bitter, were published, and the controversy ran high Citizens of Michigan City offered in 1845 to bear the expense of erecting the new county buildings and removing the offices and records thereto.

In the election of August 4, 1847, the removal question was made an issue as affecting the legislative candidates. It was a period of great depression in the harbor improvement project, but the new court house was to be undertaken without further delay and the Michigan City people endeavored hopefully to secure it. Normally the city gave its majorities to the whigs, whose candidates for representative were Myron H. Orton and Franklin W. Hunt in this year, but the democratic candidates, Jacob G. Sleight and William Taylor, were pledged to re-

moval and received majorities of over one hundred and fifty votes in the city. Orton and Hunt were elected, but in Michigan City they received only sixteen and eight votes respectively. In 1859 Michigan City made another effort to become a county seat, this time by the organization of a new county, to be called Linn and to be carved out of La-Porte and Porter counties, but the attempt failed. The matter of removal had some advocates when the present court house, the corner stone of which was laid June 30, 1892, was decided upon, and again, to a less extent, when the superior court was established in 1895.

Isaac C. Elston was born in New Jersey in 1794 and in boyhood removed with his parents to Onondaga county, New York, whence, in 1818, he went to the far west, as then known, to seek his fortune, locating at Vincennes. There he engaged in merchandising two or three years, then removed to Terre Haute for a short time and in 1823 established the first store in the new town of Crawfordsville, which was then the northernmost white settlement in the state and was so isolated that there were less than a dozen white families within fifty miles. There he established his family in the wilderness, embarked on that business career which soon made him a marked man in the little community and later in the state, and carved a handsome fortune out of the rough material of those primitive days. He was the first postmaster President Jackson appointed. His military title of major was conferred by the governor in connection with the militia when the Indians were still threatening. He was an early purchaser of land and lots in the new country and was shrewd in such investments. In 1825 he and two other Crawfordsville citizens bought the entire site of Lafayette within a day or two after it was laid out, paying $240 for it, and it was through their influence that the county seat was located at that place. Though active and influential in the politics of the state, adhering to the democratic faith throughout his life, he never held or was a candidate for public office, but gave his undivided attention to his large and always increasing business interests. He founded the famous Rock River mills at Crawfordsville, and was the first president of the Crawfordsville & Wabash railroad, which was afterwards merged into the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago railway, of which he remained a director until age crept upon him and he voluntarily retired. The first named road was his conception and by his energy and persistency it was made an actuality. In 1853 he established the banking house of Elston & Company at Crawfordsville, of which he retained control until his death, when the management passed to his son and namesake, the present president. While he lived he was a devout member and a liberal contributor to the Methodist church. One morning in 1867 he died very suddenly at his home in the old Elston residence at Crawfordsville.

A grandson bearing the same name as his own was until within two or three years past a resident of Michigan City, where he was connected with the Michigan City Gas Light company. On the morning of February 14, 1906, at Washington, where she was that day to assist, with her sister, Mrs. Henry S. Lane, and her niece, Miss Helen Smith, in a reception given at the home of the vice president, Mrs. Helen Elston Blair of Indianapolis, a daughter of the major, passed away in much the same manner as he did. Another daughter was the wife of Gen. Lew Wallace.

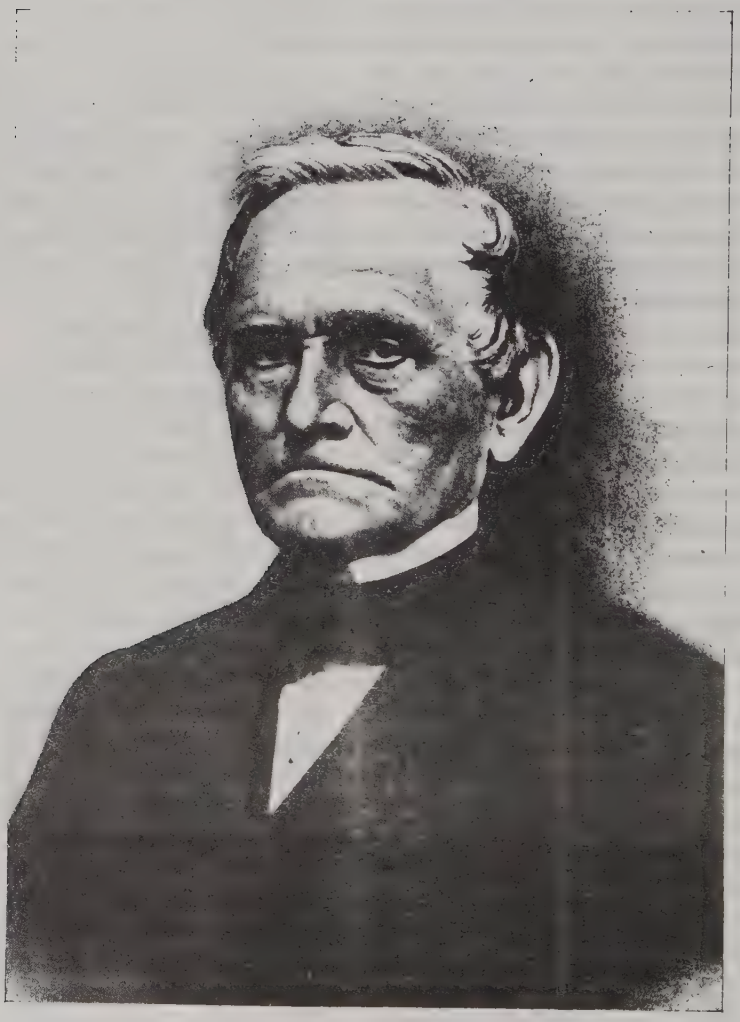
CHAPTER EIGHT.

The First Inhabitants.

Robert White, of Scipio township, says that when he, a lad verging on manhood, rode horseback from Door Prairie on Monday, September 24, 1832, and came to Michigan City in search of the lost Armstrong boys, he found two unfinished cabins on the site of the town. Judge William P. Andrew, who was with the county seat commissioners on their trip of inspection to Michigan City within a week or two of the same date, said:—"The only building in Michigan City was a log cabin not yet completed. It was covered with lapboards weighted down and kept in place by the usual poles, and the door and windows were cut out; but that was all." This is good testimony that there was at least one house in the city then. The county atlas says in one place that "Jacob Furman, aided by Benj. F. Bryant, built the first log cabin in August, 1833, on what is called Peck's corner," and in another place, speaking of the same incident, it says "Jacob Furman aided B. F. Bryant" to build a cabin. General Packard did not know which aided the other so he gave both equal credit, in which the later writers followed him, except that Mr. Daniels reports Judge Andrew's account.

Benjamin T. Bryant, who was born in this state in 1815, came to New Durham with his father, Josiah Bryant, in April 1832, and two years later, still a minor, married a daughter of the pioneer settler, the widow Benedict, and set up for himself in Clinton township, where he lived a long and useful life. Jacob Turman, (not Furman) was his mother's brother. In August, 1832, Mr. Turman, aided by young Bryant, began the erection of two log cabins near the first bend of Trail creek, one of which was for Samuel Miller and the other was for Joseph C. Orr, who was already in camp there with his family.

The earliest permanent resident of Michigan City seems to have been Samuel Miller,—"Colonel Miller," the atlas calls him. He was the first real estate agent, the first merchant, the first postmaster, the first warehouseman and the first settler in the city. Samuel Miller came to Chicago as early as in 1825 and was a trader with the Indians. The first date we have pertaining to him is that of his marriage with Elizabeth Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie, in 1826. About that time he purchased a log cabin on the point between the north branch and the Chicago river and there he and his wife lived and kept what was called the Miller House, the second hotel in Chicago, and Archibald Clybourne joined him in opening a store in the same building, enlarged for the purpose. Mark Beaubien, who afterwards owned a hotel in LaPorte, had a tavern just across the river to the south and the Wentworth hotel was opened just opposite on the west side. In 1828 James Kinzie took the Beaubien place and competed with Miller strenuously but good-naturedly. Miller established the first ferry and built the first bridge in Chicago and was



MAJOR ISAAC C. ELSTON

a member of the first board of county commissioners when Cook county was formed, having previously served as a commissioner for the school land. In 1831 the town bought his ferry scow for $65 and appointed Mark Beaubien ferryman. When the Black Hawk war arose Miller placed his wife in the fort and took his place as a private in Gholson Kercheval's company of home defenders. Within a few weeks after the Black Hawk scare was allayed, probably in June or July, 1832, Mrs. Miller died, leaving three children, Margaret Ellen, Montgomery K. and Filly, upon which the father immediately closed his affairs in Chicago and moved to Michigan City. He was with Major Elston when the town was platted in October, 1832, and occupied a log cabin on the south bank of the creek at the bend toward the lake, where he later built the first warehouse in the new city. He bought a large number of lots in Michigan City of Elston and others and entered and bought large tracts of land in the vicinity and he also opened the first store and was the first forwarding and commission merchant and, later, a grain buyer. In August, 1833, Major Elston gave him a power of attorney as his agent to sell town lots and through his influence many of the prominent men of Chicago invested in lots and lands in and near the town. He was first postmaster, serving from August 26, 1833, until June 26, 1835, and established a weekly mail route to LaPorte, changing it shortly to a daily route. July 18, 1835, in the democratic convention held at Lakeville, he was nominated for state representative, but was defeated by C. W. Cathcart. He received 212 votes, while Cathcart received 433 and Jonathan A. Liston 134. At the first meeting of the city council, in 1836, he was appointed official printer and later he was elected to the council and to other city offices. Mr. Miller prospered in business and at a very early day, having married Emily Kimberly at Michigan City for his second wife, August 17, 1834, prepared for his family the most elegant home in the place, of which Mrs. Lydia Evarts wrote as follows in a paper read in November, 1899, before the Woman's Study club:—

"One of the most imposing structures of those early times was the Jernegan property, situated on the Jernegan hill. The house was built and formerly occupied by a man named Samuel Miller. The house stood in the center of the large grounds. The approach was through a large arched gateway, supported by high stone posts, then terrace upon terrace to the handsome house. When first built, I am told by those even farther back than myself, that there was nothing in the country around to equal it in grandeur. I have had it pictured by some of the country youths, who brought their grain to this port for shipping, how, when passing, they would stand on their loads that they might get a better view of what seemed to them to be little short of a castle."

In January, 1844, he died at Michigan City leaving his wife Emily and two children, Margaret Ellen and Montgomery K. Miller, Filly having died young. Jacob Miller was the administrator of his estate and Tobias Miller was the guardian for the children. It was found that his affairs were considerably involved and there were judgments against him, and the estate was settled as insolvent, though it turned out that his real estate paid all claims and left a good balance for the heirs.

Although Major Elston voted at one of the early elections in the county he was never a resident and all his deeds to Michigan City lots were executed at Crawfordsville. In 1832 he made but one such deed, that of October 22 to Joseph Orr for lot four in block four (not a corner lot) for assistance in drafting the plat, and the next year he made but one, a deed dated

October 18 to John Balyard of Butler county, Ohio, for lot two in block nine. August 18 he and his wife, Maria E. Elston, executed a power of attorney to Samuel Miller authorizing him to sell lots in the new town. December 17, 1832, however, Elston had given to John Egbert of St. Joseph county a bond for $200 obligating himself to convey to Egbert three years after date the undivided one-tenth of all lots in Michigan City then remaining unsold and of the unsold parts of the southeast, southwest and northwest quarters and the west half of the northeast quarter of section 28 then included in the town plat, except lots five and six in block four, one and four in block five and eight in block nine, Elston reserving the right "to make donations to individuals or corporations for public improvements to advance the growth and population of the town." This bond was discharged September 24, 1835, by a final settlement in which Elston gave Egbert a note for $278, the balance agreed to be due in full satisfaction of all matters pertaining to their mutual interests in Michigan City lots. On the first page of the first entry book used in the county recorder's office, dated 1832, the fifth item that "came into office for record" is this:—

"Town Plat of Michigan City Isaac C. Elston & John Egbert proprietors Situate on the N. W. qr. & W. half of the N. E. qr. of S. 29. T 38 N. R. 4 W. Recorded in Book A. Page 5 & 6. Fee $2.50 Paid."

This entry is without date, but it was between Nov. 2, 1832, and Feb. 1, 1833. Page five of book A bears the following record:—

Michigan City.

The plat or plan for Michigan City was laid out by Isaac C Elston in October 1832, is situated on the southern margin of Lake Michigan at the mouth of Trail creek on the North West quarter, and West half of the North East quarter of Section No. 29, in Township No. 38 North of Range 4 West.

The lots are 82½ feet front by 165 feet back, with the exception of those fronting on Front Street, and lots No. 1 and 4 in block No. 5 and fronting on Wabash Street, the former are 55 feet front by 145 feet back, the latter are 72½ feet front by 165 ft. back—Michigan and Wabash Streets are each 100 ft. wide. Washington and Franklin Streets are each 82½ feet wide Fourth Street is 75 feet wide and all the rest are 66 ft. wide—The alleys are 15 feet wide—The streets cross each other at right angles, and bear N 20 deg. W by N 70 deg. E magnetically or N 14 deg. W by N 76 deg. E astronomically—Wabash Street is extended to the Lake—

Scale of the plot 330 ft. to the inch.

State of Indiana, LaPorte County, Sct.

Before me the undersigned Recorder in and for said County Personally Came Isaac C. Elston and acknowledged the within town plat to be his own free act and Deed for the uses and purposes therein contained and expressed.

George Thomas Recorder for LaPorte County.

Recorded 17th Sept. 1833.

An addition laid off north of front street one tier of Lots Numbered from one to sixteen, designated and known by water and front street lots, being seventy feet N. & S. and 55 feet East & West, with the variation of the original town platt Water Street is fifty feet wide. North of Water street is tier of Lots Bounded by water street on the south, and Trail Creek on the North Being 82½ feet front on Water street and extending the same width to stakes standing at or near trail creek the lots are numbered from one to twelve inclusive contain different lengths by the meanders of the creek.

State of Indiana LaPorte County, ss.

Be it remembered that on the 8th day of May A. D. 1835. Before me the undersigned. Notary Public in and for said county of Laporte. Personally appeared Isaac C. Elston. and acknowledged the within additional plat of the town of Michigan City to be his voluntary act and deed. Given under my hand and seal, this 8th day of May A. D. 1835.

I. Sherwood N. Public (seal).

Market Street first South addition.

Recorded this 11th day of May A. D. 1835.

On page six the plat is drawn in heavy lines south to Market street and in lighter lines below that street, the latter apparently denoting the additions. The streets as laid out do not vary from Elston's original copy now in the hands of his son except that Wabash street swerves westward north from Front street, making room for a tier of lots between it and the creek, whereas in the original the margin of the stream is the east line of Wabash street. The margin of the page bears the following inscription:—

Block number thirteen in Michigan City is set apart [illegible] blic ground. A strip of ground from Samuel Miller's Lot on the creek east to Water lot No. one & Water Street Lot No. one is set apart as public grounds & Landing. Lot seven in Block 12 is set apart as a Public School House Lot four Block 9 is set apart for the use of the methodist episcopal church to build a church upon one acre of ground on the south east corner of Section 29 is donate to a public Buryal ground.

Isaac C. Elston,
Proprietor of Michigan City.

The proprietor was not permitted to reach this point in his enterprise without interruption, for some objection was raised to the issuance of patents to entrors at the Crawfordsville sales of lands in the "new purchase" in the fall of 1830, and the senate adopted a resolution in the January following attempting to clothe the president with power to withhold their patents. President Jackson replied February 3 in a special message questioning the right of the president, even with such authorization, to take the action desired by the senate and holding that a purchaser for a fair and valuable consideration acquired a vested right in the land declared upon. This view ultimately prevailed but no patents were issued on the objectionable entries until years after. The shadow cast upon Elston's purchase was not dark enough to preclude him from proceeding with the sales of lots and in 1833 he was much occupied in that work. His procedure was to give purchasers contracts or bonds for the lots he sold and to make the deeds later at Crawfordsville, where his wife could join in them. She was not at Michigan City at any time during the sales, as far as is now known. The dates of the recorded deeds, therefore, do not inform us as to the order or dates of sales. It seems very probable that the major erected a cabin on the town site, in addition to the Miller cabin, in the autumn of 1832 to serve as his residence and office. Road Commissioner Polke's dwelling was on the Tippecanoe river and there is no indication that he ever had a cabin on Trail creek. In addition to the direct evidence of Judge Andrew that there was one and of Robert White that there were two log houses there in October, 1832, we have two items of further testimony bearing on the subject. Abiezer Jessup and Moses S. Wright are the witnesses, who tell what they heard and have always understood from their acquaintance of those times. Mr. Jessup came to this county in 1830 at the age of nine years; he says that at his first view of Michigan City it consisted of one cabin then in course of construction, and that was in the summer of 1832; Orr was encamped there then. Mr. Wright was brought to the vicinity of Pinhook in 1832 when but five years old and he says there were at that time two houses in Michigan City.

Taking all the evidence and the probabilities the truth seems to be that when the winter of 1832 closed in there, two rude log shacks on the site of the new town on the south bank of the creek at the bend near Hoosier Slide, were occupied by Miller and Orr, and that the only other lot Major Elston had then disposed of was the one given to

General Orr. At the legislature that winter the Michigan road was again a prominent subject for consideration, another was the projected harbor and still another was the state boundary dispute, while several proposed roads and canals affecting Elston's interests on the lake were deliberated upon. In congress the harbor and one or two canal schemes were thought about and the disputed Crawfordsville sales titles came up. Two members of congress (Jonathan McCarty and John Carr) and several members of the legislature received Michigan City lots that year and one member of the legislature, Edward A. Hannegan, who next year was the first congressman for whom Michigan City people voted, was among them. All of this illustrates the wide interest that was then felt in the practically vacant plat that was expected to become the commercial port of the lake in Indiana, and which, as General Packard has said, presented an aspect of "only sand hills and swamps." "Hoosier Slide," he continued, "towered up many feet higher than now, while below it and around about there was only glistening sand, and further back, across the creek that passed through the woods, and which was still the abode of wild beasts, a low, wet, swampy tract of country occupied all the locality. It would have been discouraging enough only for the prospect that a city would one day arise there in spite of adverse circumstances, and a harbor that should be to Indiana what the harbor at Chicago is now to Illinois. Animated by this belief, settlers rapidly arrived, filled with the spirit of enterprise, and commenced the work of improvement."

Town life in Michigan City began in 1833 and during that year great progress was made. Major Elston was a shrewd and active promoter; Samuel Miller, his agent, and John Egbert, his partner in a way, were effective assistants. The county north of the ten-mile or Indian boundary line had been surveyed between June 17, 1829, and April 4, 1830, and the Michigan road lands between September 18, 1831, and January 10, 1832, and the survey of the remainder of the county began March 9, 1833, and continued until January 20, 1835. Settlers were coming into the county rapidly to take up these lands thus made available and a great many travelers were passing through, all of whom were fair prospects for solicitation to invest. Major Elston gave away some lots for promised improvements and he fostered commercial enterprise in the new town. In that period the law required store and tavern keepers to be licensed by the county commissioners, but it appears that this requirement was not rigidly adhered to for a number of such establishments were opened and not licensed until after they had been in operation some time. The first that was issued for Michigan City was authorized by the following entry of September 2, 1833, in order book A, page 59, of the commissioners:—

"Ordered by the Board that a License issue to Elijah Casteel to keep a Grocery in Michigan City in Laporte County—Rates Ten Dollars."

This is also the earliest mention of Michigan City in the commissioners' records. The store was on lot three of block four, opposite the Miller cabin, store and warehouse on the creek. Casteel came that year from Delaware county, where he was a pioneer settler, and remained only about two years, for in 1835 he set up a sawmill and a home where Chesterton is now. The next mention of the town before the commissioners was two days later, on the fourth, when Michigan township, including what became Coolspring township March 9, 1836, was carved out of New Durham, the order for which concluded as follows:—

"Ordered that there be an election held in Michigan Township at the house of Joseph C. Orr in Michigan City for the purpose of electing a Justice of the Peace in said Township to be held on the Fourth Saturday of September A. D. 1833. Also the above named Joseph C. Orr is appointed Inspector of Elections in said Township until the next annual election for Township elections, the place described to hold the above election is where all Elections will be held for said Township."

Pursuant to the order an election took place September 28 and this return of the names of the twenty voters and of the result was made:—

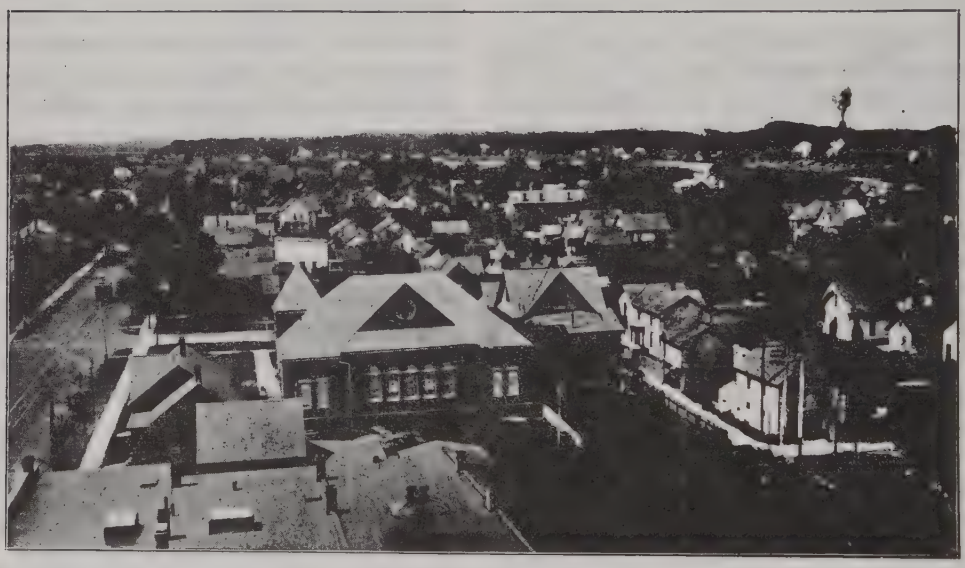
"Elijah Casteel, Willis Hughes, James Laughlin, George Olinger, Joseph C. Orr, James Knaggs, I. C. Elston, Wm. Conant, J. Bartholomew, Amos Dyer, Squire Clark, Eliakim Ashton, Samuel Masterson, Peter Ritter, Silas Gregory, B. Sims, James Waddle, Gilbert Baldwin, Caleb Nichols, Samuel Olinger. Of these votes James M. Scott received eight, and Samuel Olinger, twelve. The election was held at the house of Joseph C. Orr, who was the Inspector; and James Laughlin and Willis Hughes were Judges."

At that time there were not to exceed three settlers in the township, as it then stood, outside of Michigan City, and they did not vote; so the list just given may be regarded as comprising all of the adult male inhabitants on that day with possibly two or three exceptions. Both candidates were prominent and both wanted the office, and an effort was put forth to secure a full vote. Samuel Miller was absent for some reason. The electoral test in those primitive days was not strictly according to statute—any one who remained long enough to pay his board by the week was a resident and when he bought a lot, entered business or got a job he was a permanent inhabitant and qualified to vote, hold office and petition the powers. Concerning most of these first citizens little is left in the records.

Quite a number of buildings were being constructed in the town, several mills were under way on the Trail creek mill seats, and the north end of the Michigan road was receiving its finishing touches, all which, with some minor improvements, required the presence of mechanics and laborers, some of whom felt qualified to vote while others did not. Other citizens arrived in that year too late for the election. The earliest skilled craftsman of whom we have knowledge was Thompson W. Francis, the first carpenter in the county to work regularly at the trade. Francis arrived March 16, 1833, and, as he afterwards said, "found there Samuel Miller and Joseph C. Orr." These were then the two inhabitants of the place and the new-comer made the third, for he became a permanent resident. Orr, he said, recalling those early days in after life, "lived first in a log house which stood on the present [1876] site of Ames & Holliday's drug store, which he used for a sort of hotel, and where many a traveler found rest and refreshment, though the surroundings were somewhat rude." Mr. Francis was born near Lexington, Kentucky, in 1815. Later he lived near Cincinnati, whence, in the early part of 1832, he came to Michigan City, a lad of seventeen but well-grown and independent. Finding no prospect of immediate employment there he went at once to LaPorte and after working there on some of the first buildings he went in the fall to St. Joseph and in the next spring to Michigan City, where he spent the remainder of his life and died April 17, 1880. He was a carpenter, builder, architect and contractor, and he constructed the first frame house, the first hotel, school and church, and many of the pioneer buildings in the city. Young Francis was a man of strong and positive character, ac-

tive and progressive, and he made his mark in those days when things were beginning here. His age explains his failure to vote and do jury service at first, but as soon as he was qualified he discharged all the duties of citizenship. He was a whig and then an ardent republican while he lived. As soon as he came of age he entered the nearest available government land, in section 22, and received deeds to lots that he had already acquired on the east side of Pine street at the corner of Fourth, two lots, and at the corner of Michigan, one half a lot. One of his three surviving sons, Harry H., founded the Despatch.

The first plasterer at Michigan City, and in the county, was George Seffens, who was also a boy of few years but much enterprise at that time. Another precocious youth of that year was Jesse Blake, born in 1814, who landed in Michigan City with his entire earthly possessions wrapped in a small pack and with fifty-five cents in his pocket after slowly working his way westward from his home in New York. He worked in Michigan City at various jobs during six years and then married and settled down on a farm in Kankakee township, where he lived a long and active life. Henry Hageman lived near the town and was employed during that first season, after which he removed to Waverly, in Porter county, where he married a sister of W. H. Gossett, of Gossett's mills. There was a blacksmith shop in the town as early as October of this year, but the name of the proprietor seems to have been lost in oblivion.



FROM CLOCK TOWER—LOOKING WEST

Gallatin Ashton, a native of New York, reached Michigan City in 1833, having just attained his majority, coming by invitation of the people to teach a school, the first in the place. This young man was the youngest of fourteen sons born in New York to Thomas Ashton, a soldier of the war of 1812, and he became a prominent business man of Michigan City. He left the vocation of teaching to embark in merchandising with his brother, Eliakim, after which he traveled extensively selling the Fair-

bank scales. He died in 1864. In the same year of his arrival there came also Simon Ritter, of Cayuga county, New York, who bought land and lots and lived in the town to a great age. In his family was a daughter, Elizabeth, in whom Gallatin became so greatly interested that he made her his wife. She died in 1852, having been the mother of nine children, of whom Lyman B. Ashton, a citizen of the present day, is one. The location of Gallatin Ashton's primitive school is not known to the writer. It has been noted that Major Elston donated for a Methodist church a lot on the west side of Pine street just south of Second. In this year he gave to Rev. James Armstrong for a home the west half of the lot at the southeast corner of Pine and Michigan streets. Mr. Armstrong was the pioneer minister of his denomination to settle in the county and his home was at Door Village. He preached at Michigan City on several occasions in 1833 and 1834, in which latter year he died, and it is not improbable that the major sought by the gift to induce him to locate in the new town as a center for his very extensive missionary district. Elston faithfully completed the gift by deeding the half lot to Armstrong's heirs, but none of the family ever occupied it.

Many of the original inhabitants of the growing little hamlet were young and so far the only family to be mentioned is that of Joseph C. Orr. The fact that there was a school started in that year shows the presence of children. The third family to arrive, according to the report, was that of Samuel Flint, which came in October. In the family was a little daughter of five years who married W. F. Miller and lived many years in the city. Mr. Flint bought property and was one of the substantial people of the place. In the same month came George R. Selkirk, but he was a farmer by occupation and soon bought land in what is now Coolspring township where he lived long and died. Another whose residence was of short duration was James Mosse, who came in 1833 or the next year from Canada and built a very modest little cabin on the creek bank where the Franklin street dock now is. He was a ship carpenter by trade. Leaving his little family in the cabin he went to Chicago in search of work, caught the cholera there and died. His widow lived in Michigan City many years and his daughter Ella was a teacher in the city schools until she married Lyman B. Ashton.

It is now evident that the year 1833 was a prosperous one for the infant village and its proprietor. There is no means of knowing how many lots he sold each year, for many of them were disposed of on contracts, some of which were satisfied by deeds and others were abrogated for failure to pay. The deeds were executed as the terms were met, in some cases several years after the sale, and in some cases the contracts were assigned by the original purchasers. One lot was conveyed in 1832, another in the next year, fifty-one in 1834 and twice that many in 1835. In 1836 Major Elston closed out to a land company formed for the purpose, and that year he issued deeds for thirty lots, the next for twenty-five, and the next for nine. In 1839 he issued the final warranty deed, those executed by him afterwards being quit claims to perfect titles. Meantime, commencing in 1834, a very large business was done in the sale of Michigan City lots by others than the major; the county recorder was never without an instrument of conveyance for such property to transcribe.

CHAPTER NINE.

Growth of the Village.

Speaking of Michigan City the Indiana Gazetteer for 1833 said:—

"Several families have already settled there; improvements are rapidly progressing; and it is believed that the advantages of the situation, the salubrity of the climate, and the fertility of the adjoining lands must insure its rapid improvement. It affords the best Harbour on the Lake within the bounds of the state."

In July Charles Butler was passing through to Chicago and he stopped over night at the Orr tavern, of which he said:—"It was a small log house, with a single room, which answered the purpose of sitting-room, eating-room and sleeping-room. In this twelve persons lodged, in beds and on the floor, including, of course, the host and his wife." In October Charles Cleaver spent a night in one of the taverns, he did not say which, and he wrote:—"The buildings consisted of one small brick tavern, a frame one opposite, a blacksmith shop, and half a dozen houses, built in, on, above and below the sand. * * * It then contained probably about fifty inhabitants." This is the only mention of a brick building then existing that the writer has found. Isaac Hoover came to the county in 1842 and says, in a biographical sketch in the Daniels history, that there was not then a brick house in the county. Of course he meant dwelling houses, for the court house, two or three churches and several business buildings of brick were then to be found. James V. Hopkins made brick near Springville in 1833. Samuel Flint had a brick yard close to Michigan City in 1834, and there is in existence a petition of citizens asking the county commissioners to provide the township with another justice of the peace in that year for the reason that 'Squire Flint, then a justice, intended to give his time to the manufacture of brick. Old bills preserved in the auditor's office show that brick was used in the first county building, before the brick court house was erected, and as the bills state that shingles and other material came from Lake Michigan it is fair to suppose that the brick did also. It is not impossible, therefore, that there was a brick tavern at Michigan City in 1833, but Robert White, who saw the place then, says there was not.

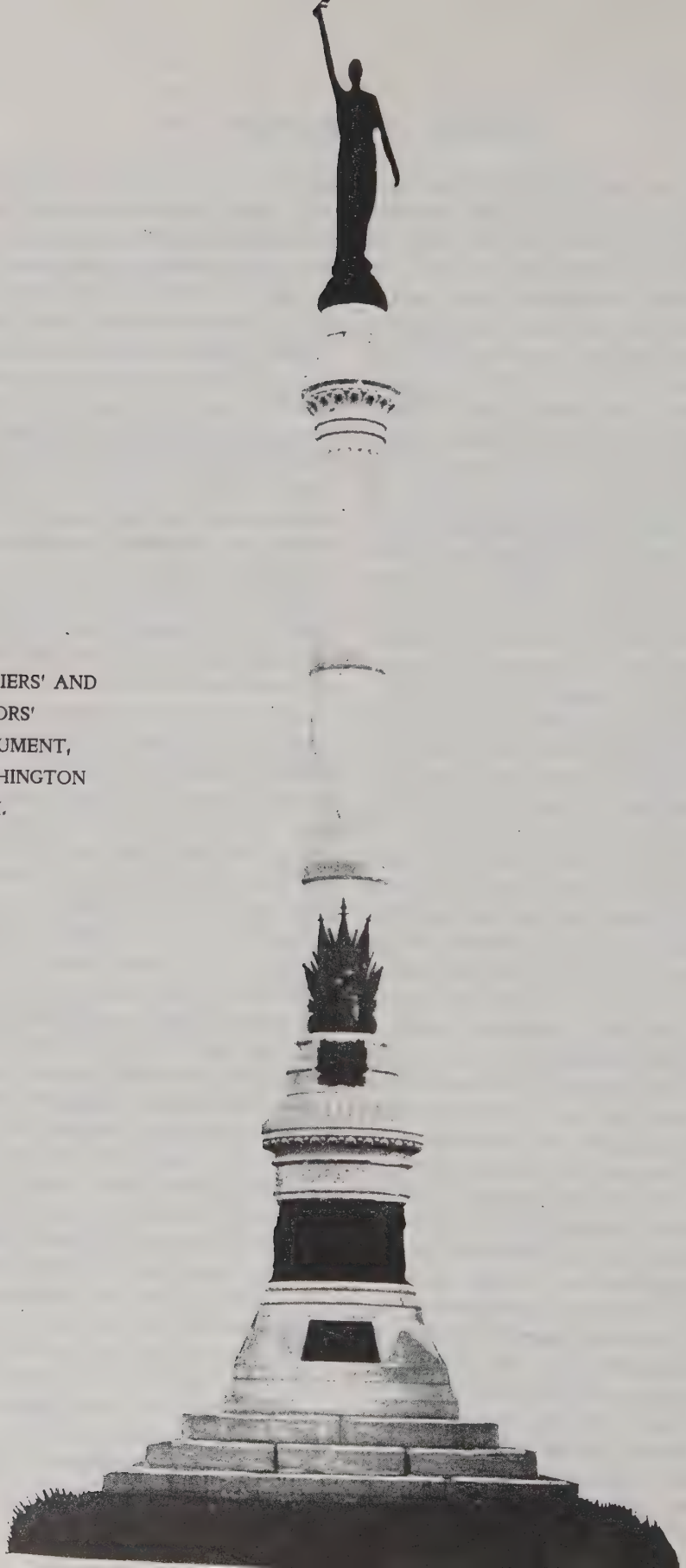
Samuel Flint's daughter, Mrs. W. F. Miller, said of the arrival of the family in October, 1833, when she was five years old, that "there was then but one frame building in the town, erected, it is said, by Samuel B. Webster; and Mr. Flint erected the second one for a dwelling house. The presence of Indians was no unusual event, but they were friendly, and Mrs. Miller remembers having often played with them as a child. The two or three dwelling houses were located in the woods, and sugar was made from the maple trees surrounding them. There were no streets yet opened, and only foot paths led from house to house." George R. Selkirk arrived at about the same

time and he said:—"At this time there was only an old Indian trail connected Michigan City and LaPorte, but the Michigan road had been laid out, and the laborers were then at work upon it. Until this was completed there was no road into the city, and the only communication with the world was out over the waters of the lake, by means of the occasional arrival and departure of a vessel. Vessels of the ordinary size could not reach the wharf, but were obliged to anchor out in the lake at some distance, and land merchandise by means of lighters." Concerning the first frame house, referred to by Mrs. Miller, Samuel B. Webster said that he reached Michigan City, at the age of twenty-one, in 1833; that Major Elston proposed to give him a lot if he would build a house on it, and he accepted the offer and started the first frame house ever erected in the place. Before it was completed he received a liberal offer for it, and sold out and returned to his father, James Webster, in Pleasant township. The next spring he came back to Michigan City and went into business for himself in a store, and the next year he acquired a farm in Kankakee township and moved there, where he passed the remainder of his life.

One of the material elements in Michigan City's success in the days of her incipiency, before the anticipations of harbor improvement were realized, was the capacity of Trail creek for furnishing motive power for machinery. A newspaper writer of that period said:—"The advantages which this place possesses are manifold. Contiguous to us are the fertile and beautiful prairies with an adequate number of delightful groves as well as an endless variety of the finest forest timber, and all these interspersed with streams which afford mill seats ample in capacity and numbers for all purposes." The opportunity thus presented was seized upon as early as in 1833 and a complete history of the Trail creek mills would fill a large chapter; they brought much business and many people to the little village at the mouth of the stream, where the dust from the mills floated out on the bosom of the lake.

These Trail creek enterprises contributed greatly to the prosperity of Michigan City at the outset, as did some others along the Galien river farther away, and they helped to realize the expectation voiced in the Indiana Gazetteer for 1849, which said:—"In the northern portion of Indiana there is sufficient water power and inexhaustible beds of bog iron ore, so that whenever labor for agriculture ceases to be in demand it will be employed in manufactures. Wheat is made into flour at home, and South Bend and Michigan City expect soon to rival Madison, which leads the state in manufacturing." "The alterations in labor conditions," remarks Rev. Daniels, "thus forecasted have not yet been such as to bring the bog iron ore forward conspicuously, but Michigan City, under the impetus of her splendid manufactures, is more than twice as large as Madison." The Gazetteer cited counted thirteen flouring mills in the county in that year, "some of them merchant mills and among the best in the state."

The persistence and decisiveness of the influence impressed upon a community by its first settlers will be admitted as an established law. Out of this law flows the distinctive character attaching to every state, and in fact to every city. In 1876 a writer of Fulton county history referring to the influence of the Michigan road on the settlement of that region, recognized the law just mentioned, thus:—"The lands were more easily reached from the south than any other direction, and to this is to be traced the fact that the preponderance of the early settlers came from the southern counties,



SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT, WASHINGTON PARK.

while in Marshall, and more particularly the counties in the northern tier, most of the settlers came in from the North. There is still a noticeable difference in some of the habits and customs of the communities in the counties no further south than Fulton, and those on the north, owing to the causes named." Almost without exception the first inhabitants of Michigan City were easterners, either by birth or by parentage, "hard-headed, practical Yankees," as Dunn has characterized the race, "who came west in early times and built their lives into the foundations of our commonwealths, while others were doing the ornamental work." The new town on Trail creek was essentially, and almost exclusively, a Yankee settlement in the first years and it continued so to the present time, for by far the greater part of the men whose names occur among the builders and promoters of the city and its enterprises have been of the east. They were educated, orderly folks, those pioneer founders, and they did not sign their names by mark nor did they cumber the justice dockets with the records of crimes and misdemeanors. The returns of fines imposed by justices of the peace during the first few years of the county do not contain the names of any residents of Michigan City; the proceedings that made the office profitable in this township were all concerned with real estate transfers and other proper business matters.

Notwithstanding their preoccupation in getting the town ready for the influx of people they knew would come with the opening of the Michigan road and the establishment of a harbor, these advance-couriers of municipal greatness had time to hear Rev. Armstrong preach the gospel, to set Gallatin Ashton up as a school teacher, to attend lectures (though the names of the lecturers and the subjects they treated are lost), and they did not neglect the amenities of social intercourse, for Robert Cissne, who died at South Bend March 20, 1906, at the age of ninety-five, came over from his then home at Bootjack in 1833 and later to play the fiddle for dances, he being the only fiddler then for many miles around. Of such character were the inhabitants of the place whom the "Wabash people" found here when they came up from "down below" with their great vans and trains of grain and produce for shipment by the lake. The "Wabash people" were regarded as almost of a different race.

Major Elston and those associated with him in the promotion of the town were immensely furthered in their work by the great land craze that set in during the year 1833 and lasted until the bottom fell out in the panic of 1837. In those years northern Indiana enjoyed a boom such as the state has never witnessed since. It peopled the wilderness above the Wabash, doubled the population of the state, multiplied its revenues by twenty-six, and created such excitement that the state expenditures were multiplied by forty-one at the same time, leaving the public treasury bankrupt when the panic broke and causing it to repudiate a large part of its debt. But the speculative mania brought many of the men who made the commonwealth great and opened every inhabitable corner to settlement and it made our town a city in fact as well as in name.

At Michigan City the great panic of 1837 was an inconvenience to the business men and a temporary hindrance to the growth of the town. But the Trail creek mills still ran, the "Wabash people" still brought their produce to exchange for Michigan salt, the harbor improvement did not stop, no business house failed. The Yankee spirit of thrift and cunning won a signal victory over widespread adversity.

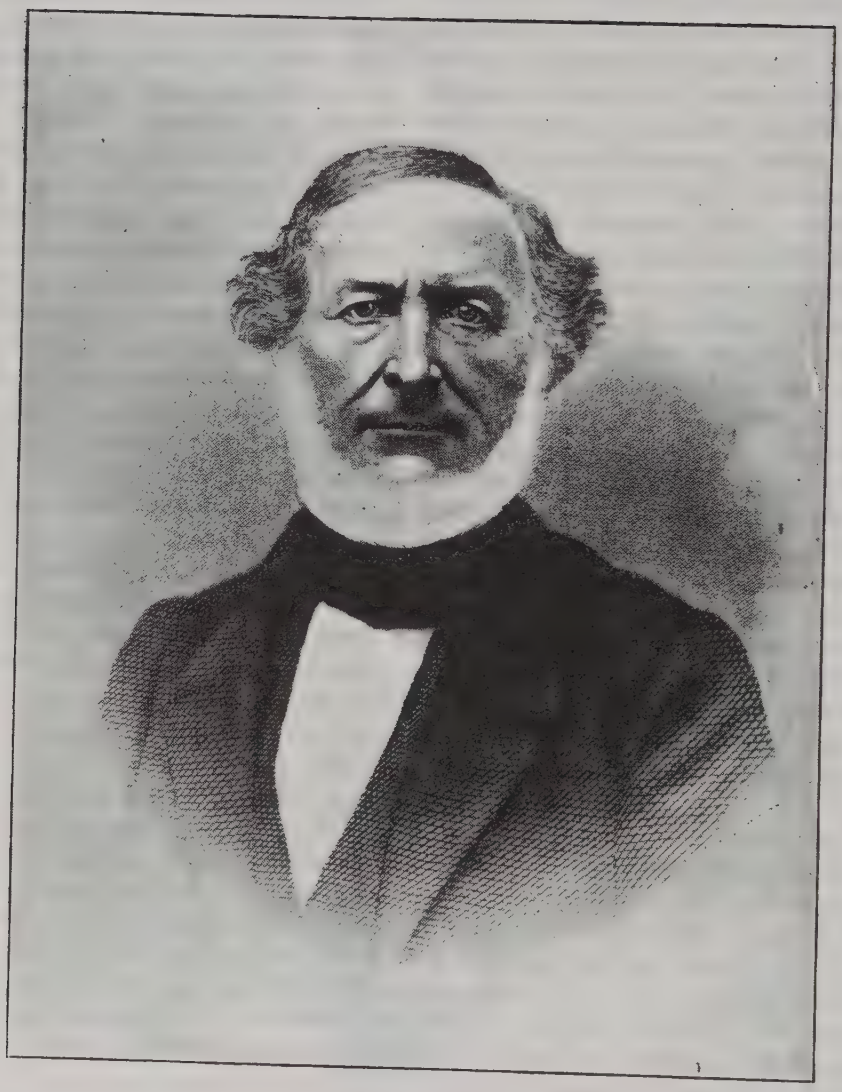
The second year of activity, 1834, wit-

nessed a material development that must have been most gratifying to those interested. Samuel Miller began importing salt and other supplies and exporting grain and produce. He also procured the appointment of himself as postmaster and opened the postoffice in his store at the bend of the creek, establishing a mail route by horseback to LaPorte. The Chicago and Detroit stages carried mail. Joseph C. Orr established a tannery in what is now the business center, Gallatin Ashton taught school and Rev. James Armstrong preached occasionally. Rev. Silas Tucker, a Baptist who taught a school at Springville, also preached sometimes at Michigan City. Licenses to transact business in the new town were issued by the county commissioners as follows:—April 17, to Benjamin Sailor, tavern; April 26, to Abram Baker, grocery; May 5, to Abraham Balser, grocery; May 6, to Benjamin Salor, tavern; May 13, to William Teall, to vend merchandise; May 31, to Samuel Olinger, tavern; June 21, to Brown & Haas, to vend merchandise; June 30, to James Forrester, same; July 7, to F. P. Harrison, same; July 16, to Daniel Lacey, grocery; September term, to William Teall, James Forrester, F. P. Harrison and Samuel Miller, each to vend merchandise; Nov. 28, to Alexander Frasier, grocery. Charles Tryon opened a blacksmith shop. Reynolds Couden established himself as a tinner, later as a dealer in hardware. Abel D. Porter was a clerk. Among the other arrivals were George and Fisher Ames, W. W. Higgins, W. O. Leeds and John Harding. Late in the year, or perhaps in the year following, Lofland & Taylor opened a hotel near the wharf, and Hiram Inman built the Stockton house on Pine street near the school. In support of various applications for licenses in 1834 the following persons signed themselves as residents of Michigan township, which meant Michigan City:—Benjamin Sailor, William Teall, David Sprague, Elijah Casteel, John Mather, George Barnard, Wm. Holmes, Jr., Michael A. Billings, T. A. Holmes, J. Sherwood, George Olinger, Eli Henricks, W. S. Clark, Alden Clark, Samuel Olinger, David Y. Bond, Thomas Thornburgh, Willis Hughes, Anthony Torbert, Samuel Flint, Wm. Consalus, Samuel Weston, James Dogue, Thompson Francis, Lemuel G. Jackson, William Downing, Joseph C. Orr, Samuel Miller, J. Barnett, James Laughlin, Abraham Balser, I. C. Elston, J. D. Holmes, Henry Thompson, Daniel Hall, H. C. Fisher, Alexander Frasier, John G. Forbes, L. N. Harrison (or Morrison), R. C. Inman, James Waddell, Sam Haviland, Wm. Eaton, Oren Gould, Sanford Edwards, Henry Quick, H. S. Finley, Jeremiah Bartholomew, Jesse Pinn, Aylmer J. Conry, Asa Harper. This summer the boys of the village began using the old swimming hole in the creek east of Franklin street where the railroad shops now are, and that spot was dedicated to the purpose until well towards the period of the war; it was in the edge of a marsh that occupied the second bend of the stream.

In 1835 the spread of the town continued, new stores and hotels were opened, among them the Daniel Low, Ames and Holliday stores, and James S. Castle founded the first newspaper in the place, the Michigan City Gazette, with Polaski King as his devil. Dr. Lee H. T. Maxson, the first physician, came and was followed in the same year by Dr. J. W. Chamberlain, while Jabez R. Wells opened a law office. Dr. Chamberlain's first office was in the Mansion House, corner of Franklin and Michigan, and Dr. Maxson was next door. Schuyler Pulford, Charles Palmer and others, probably DeWitt and Strong,

were physicians in practice within a year or two. Samuel Olinger, the first justice of the peace, having resigned, an election was held in September, 1834, and Samuel Flint was chosen to succeed him, qualifying November 19; and June 24, 1835, Benjamin Woodward qualified as an additional justice. Elijah Casteel, the first constable, was succeeded in September, 1834, by David Branson, by appointment, the former resigning. The other early "'squires" were as follows: William W. Higgins, May 2, 1837, to August 2, 1845, succeeded by Herman Lawson; Jacob Bigelow, April 18, 1829, to April 18, 1844, succeeded by Orrin I. Miner; Sylvester B. Wells, February 10, 1844, to September 4, 1848, succeeded by Increase S. Bigelow; Amos P. Wells, May 31, 1844, to March 27, 1848, succeeded by Silas W. Holmes; Orrin J. Minor left the country in 1844 and was succeeded by William B. Gustine; Stephen Mix, April 25, 1845, died December 15, 1846, succeeded by Almond Steele; Oscar A. Barker, of Michigan City, was coroner from August 21, 1839, to August 21, 1844; Jabez R. Wells was elected probate judge in 1841 and refused to qualify, Gilbert Hathaway, who had been practicing law at Michigan City several years, being appointed in his stead.

This year William Teall built a large frame warehouse on the creek near Miller's and James Forrester put up a smaller one. About this time came A. A. Voight and his five sons, the first German family, as he claimed, to locate in the place. June 26, 1835, Benjamin Woodward (who is mentioned by the histories as the first postmaster) succeeded Miller and served until June 2, 1837, when Isaac P. Goble took the office. The later postmasters, with their dates of accession, are as follows:— Lee H. T. Maxson, Sept. 16, 1837; William W. Taylor, Oct. 18, 1838; Augustus Barber, June 25, 1846; Thomas Jernegan, April 26, 1853; Charles Palmer, March 24, 1858; John Andrews, April 6, 1861; C. S. Winship, Feb. 18, 1862; Wm. Schoenemann, Sept. 28, 1866; H. J. Willits, Jan. 9, 1871; U. C. Follet, April 11, 1877; J. H. Peters, Jan. 18, 1884; H. W. Cook, Nov. 30, 1885; F. H. Doran, March 29, 1890; H. R. Harris, March 20, 1894; Albert H. Leist, March 4, 1898.



GEORGE AMES

CHAPTER TEN.

Public Improvements.

The great central fact in the location of Michigan City was the harbor and the expectation throughout the state and elsewhere that about it there would of necessity grow up an immense commercial emporium. In earlier chapters it has been related how Trail Creek was chosen as the most available point in Indiana for the purposes of a port. In the beginning this spot was a formidable rival of Chicago for the commercial supremacy of the lake and every other creek mouth between Chicago and St. Joseph including Calumet (South Chicago), Indiana City, City West and New Buffalo, also competed, Jefferson's opposition to internal improvements (on the ground that it would become "a source of boundless patronage to the executive, jobbing to members of congress, and a bottomless abyss of public money") had been overcome, but there remained in congress a considerable vestige of his doctrine that "the power to regulate commerce does not give a power to build piers, wharves, open ports, clear the beds of rivers, dig canals, etc." His reluctant admission as to lighthouses that "the utility of the thing has sanctioned the infraction" was finally extended to the construction of harbors by federal appropriation and in 1833 money was voted for the Chicago port.

Another obstacle to be overcome in congress was the impression created by all the early travelers that such improvements were practically impossible on the southern shores of the lake. Schoolcraft, in 1821, had described the dangers of navigation in those parts and the necessity for the protection of shipping, but he said that "it is yet somewhat problematical whether a safe and permanent harbor can be constructed by any effort of human ingenuity, upon the bleak and naked shores of these lakes, exposed, as they are, to the most furious tempests." His only suggestion, aside from that of turning the Calumet river into the Chicago, was to build, off shore at the sites of towns, islands large enough to contain all necessary warehouses and to connect them with the shore by bridges.

Promptly after approving the report of the Michigan road commissioners designating the mouth of Trail creek as the most likely place for a harbor within the state, the general assembly, January 7, 1831, started the harbor ball rolling by adopting a joint resolution praying congress for a preliminary survey, as follows:—

> "Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That his Excellency, the governor, be, and he is hereby authorized and requested, to apply to the Secretary of War of the United States, and procure, if possible, a corps of engineers, to make a survey of the mouth of the river Deschemins, with instructions to examine and report as to the practicability, best manner and expense of improving the same."

This action was not productive of the desired result and the legislature, December 28, 1832, resolved to ask congress directly for an appropriation, setting up the necessity therefor in the following preamble:—

"It is represented to this general assembly that the construction of a safe harbour and the erection of a light house at the mouth of Des Chemins on Lake Michigan are objects of great utility to the union, important to the commercial adventurer as well as the local agriculturist, and of peculiar interest to our growing population in that quarter; and whereas, the means at our disposal are utterly inadequate to accomplish the construction and erection of said works. * * * *."

Edward A. Hannegan, one of the best friends Michigan City ever had, voted for this resolution as a member of the lower house and made a speech for it; he was elected to congress at the next election and the first act he performed in that capacity was to submit the document to congress and with it a resolution instructing the committee on roads and canals to enquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the necessary survey and construction of a harbor at the mouth of Trail creek. This was December 18, 1833, and, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, was the first mention in congress of this spot. By this time the mouth of the Chicago river had been pretty thoroughly surveyed and sounded by government officers and Major Elston had caused examinations to be made of the mouth of Trail creek, while other mouths of streams on the same shore had been investigated by various private interests. January 2, 1834, the Indiana legislature memorialized congress at greater length and asked the members from this state to assist those from Illinois and Michigan in behalf of Chicago and St. Joseph, the idea being to combine the interests of the three states. The resolution represented

"That the mouth of Trail creek, in the State of Indiana, on Lake Michigan, has been adjudged to afford the best harbour for vessels within the limits of the state aforesaid; and from the peculiar nature of the mouths of rivers and creeks on Lake Michigan, it is obstructed in a considerable degree by the barriers of sand which surround the entrance of streams in said lake, and which can only be removed and prevented by the excavation of basins and the erection of piers. And your memorialists would further represent, that from the surveys already made at the mouth of the creek aforesaid, there is found to be as great a depth of water over the bar as at any other point on the southern shore of the lake within this State, and that a small sum of money properly applied, would make the same a safe and convenient harbour; which harbour is imperiously demanded by the extraordinary improvements of the country in the northern parts of Indiana, and the necessity of protecting and regulating the extensive commerce, which is already extending itself from and to this point." It is further remarked "that Indiana, with only forty miles of coast, has little opportunity to ask for such favors, and the salt and other supplies to be demanded by the dense population soon to inhabit her fertile soil gives the matter a national importance."

This document was transmitted immediately to congress, in which body it was presented by Mr. Hannegan January 27 (1834) and referred to the committee on roads and canals. On the same day Jonathan McCarty, another Indiana member, introduced a resolution instructing the committee on commerce to inquire into the expediency of making Michigan City a port of entry, this being the first recorded mention of the town by name in congress. March 27 Mr. Hannegan submitted a letter from H. S. Handy concerning the proposed harbor and it was referred to the committee on roads and canals. Hannegan appeared before the committee and spoke in congress. He succeeded in obtaining the desired authority and it was passed down through the channels of the war department to Col. J. J. Abert, U. S. A., chief of the topographical bureau, who, Octo-

ber 10, 1834, ordered Lieut. John M. Berrien, of his corps, with the assistance of Lieutenant Fetterman, to execute a survey of the mouth of Trail creek, with a view of ascertaining the capability of improvement, and the practicability of constructing a harbor at that place, and to transmit a map of the same. January 19, 1835, Lieutenant Berrien made his report, which was laid before the senate February 9, in response to a resolution of the 4th requesting the same. The report, aided by the map, exhibits an accurate measurement of the creek and the adjacent section of the lake. It shows that at its widest part the stream measured 120 feet and at the mouth about thirty; at the mouth there was a depth of one foot, increasing to six feet farther up; the current was scarcely perceptible and but little water was discharged, and the stream did not appear to be subject to freshets, though in wet seasons the depth increased somewhat. There was a smooth clay bottom. The creek did not bring down any inconvenient quantity of sediment, the bar at the mouth being formed by the drifting sand from the adjacent hills. There was good anchorage for vessels outside. The improvements necessary were said to be the widening and deepening of the stream so as to get a stage of nine feet, that being sufficient for the largest vessels, and the construction of piers. Ample timber for the work was found on the banks, but the stone would have to be brought from Chicago.

December 22, 1835, the senate again asked for the papers and the same report was filed. In a private letter to Mr. Hannegan, dated February 20, that year, Colonel Abert said that by constructing a breakwater at an estimated cost of $84,240.00 the stream could be so protected from winds and waves as to clean itself and provide a safe outer harbor. February 8, 1836, there was read in both chambers of congress and referred in each to the committee on commerce a petition signed by the masters of sixteen vessels plying to the south part of the lake, in which they said:—

"That during the last two years there has been an immense increase of transportation, and especially to different places on Lake Michigan. That this lake does not abound with harbors, hence navigation is extremely dangerous, and in the opinion of the petitioners it is practicable, at a reasonable expense, to construct a pier or breakwater at Michigan City, Indiana, so as to answer both the purposes of a harbor for that flourishing town, and also serve the important object of a general place of safety and protection for the whole fleet in time of danger."

This petition was circulated during the preceding summer. At the same time a committee of citizens of Michigan City wrote to Colonel Abert asking for a copy of Lieutenant Berrien's plan and estimate, which letter was forwarded to the latter September 15, 1836, for answer. The lieutenant replied at length in a communication dated November 14, in which he discussed the relative advantages of the pier and breakwater plans, concluding in favor of the latter; he described the great importance of the subject because of the growing need of a harbor near the head of the lake, and said that the mouth of Trail creek afforded the best opportunity in that part, the nearest practicable harbor being at Grand river, 120 miles distant. "Its position being nearer the head of the lake," he says of Trail creek, "than any point offering any facilities for the construction of a harbor or any advantages in point of trade," and again, referring to the coast toward the south on the east shore, "the mouth of the creek presents itself as of the greater importance from the fact that beyond it no advantages offer for similar improvements." These positive statements of the superiority of

this place over any other south of Grand river, even shutting out Chicago, attracted considerable investment to Michigan City and aided strongly in its growth. Major Elston again rallied his friends in the legislature and January 23, 1836, another memorial was adopted and transmitted to congress. It dwelt upon the work to the eastern states whose merchants were largely and directly interested in trade with the growing town. Of Michigan City it said:—

"On that shore, so lately wild and uninhabited, a city is now springing up, an enterprising people are fixing their homes. Already the constant hum of business is heard there, and the sails of

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choice of Trail creek as the best site for a harbor in all the southern region of the lake, declared that all the internal improvements from the interior of the state had been directed to that point, showed the dangers of the coast to navigation and referred to fatal wrecks that had recently occurred in that vicinity, and emphasized the importance of the commerce begin to whiten the hitherto undisturbed waters of the great lake. * * * The amount of money paid for the freight of produce and merchandize at Michigan City during the past year has exceeded twenty thousand dollars. The value of the merchandize landed at the same place in the same period, and forwarded from thence into the interior of our state, we are certainly informed, has been upwards of four hundred thou-

sand dollars. Indeed the whole northern part of our state for near one hundred miles south from Lake Michigan has received its supply mainly through that channel, and must continue to do so, until other works of internal improvement shall be completed. It is now the only road to the city of New York. An appropriation has been made by Congress to erect a light house at this point, and nothing now is wanted but a commodious harbor, to make the navigation of that part of the lake safe and the anchorage good."

April 2, 1836, the house committee on commerce reported a bill in which was included an appropriation for a harbor at Michigan City. After several sessions of the committee of the whole it came to a vote June 28, 1836, and passed by 99 yeas and 85 nays, Mr. Hannegan being absent. There were motions to table, to strike out the enacting clause, to re-refer, to cut the amount in two, but all failed and the bill went to the senate, where after a stormy career it passed, with amendments, July 2 and, the house concurring in the amendments, it was laid before the president and received his signature July 4, 1836. The amount thus made available was $20,000. It was disappointing as compared with the estimate of the engineers, but was received as an earnest of the government's good faith and there was much rejoicing on Trail creek when the news arrived.

By congressional appropriations and departmental allotments the government has set aside for this harbor a total of $1,588,268.92, which sum has been used for two separate projects of improvement, the inner and the outer harbor. The following table shows these amounts by years, those for 1868 and 1869 and $2,500 for 1878 being allotments and all the others being appropriations except the closing item, which is made up of miscellaneous receipts:—

APPROPRIATIONS AND ALLOTMENTS

YEAR	OUTER	INNER	TOTAL
1836			$ 20,000.00
1837			30,000.00
1838			60,733.59
1844			25,000.00
1852			20,000.00
1855			470.00
1866			75,000.00
1868			25,000.00
1869			31,185.00
1870	$25,000.00		25,000.00
1871	15 900.00		15,000.00
1872	50,000 00		50,000.00
1873	50,000 00		50'000.00
1874	50,000 00		50.000 00
1875	50,000.00		50,000 00
1875	50,000.00		50,000.00
1876	35,000.00		35.000 00
1878	50.000 00	$25,000.00	75,000 00
1878	2,500.00		2,500.00
1879	40,000 00		40,000 00
1880	40,000.00	15,000 00	55,000.00
1881	20,000.00		45,000 00
1882	60.000 00	20,000 00	80,000 00
1884	40.000 00	10,000 00	50.000 00
1886	54,375.00	1,875.00	56,250.00
1888	90.000.00	5.000 00	95.000.00
1890	50.000.00	7,500 00	57,500.00
1892	30 000.00	15,000.00	45.000.00
1864	20.000.00	10 000 00	30.000 00
1896	70.000.00	10,000 00	80,000 00
1899		75 000 00	7,500 00
1900	195,000 00		192.000 00
1902			63,000.00
1905			45.000 00
Misc.			4,130.00
Total,	$1.036,875 00	$151,875.00	$1,588,268.92

It is between the lines of this table that one must look for the sickening tale of congressional imbecility, of inadequate appropriations, costly delays, waste of material and inattention to public interests. Wreck followed wreck. Ships, cargoes and human lives were sacrificed. The legislature memorialized, and Hannegan, Cathcart, and others in congress pleaded in vain for relief. Year after year passed by and construction material rotted on the shore for lack of money to put it in place.

The day of the first appropriation was historic for more than one reason in Michigan City. It was on that day, July 4, 1836, that the first vessel that ever entered Trail creek was brought in. A little schooner, the Sea Serpent, was dragged and towed by a crowd of enthusiastic citizens to a point well past the

first bend, perhaps nearly to Franklin street, her keel plowing across the bar with great difficulty, and the occasion added to the general celebration of the national independence. "A barrel of whisky was rolled out and set up on end," wrote General Packard in telling the story; "then the head was knocked in, a nail was driven partly in the side, and a tin cup was hung on it, when every man helped himself; and it may be presumed that no one failed to partake of his full share of the liquid. It was a general spree in which every man lent a hand." Prior to that auspicious date, and indeed for too many years after, it had been necessary for vessels at this port to anchor outside in the roadstead, prepared to slip cables and make for the open sea for safety at short notice in case of sudden storm, and freight was taken or discharged by means of lighters small enough to be poled over the bar. The memorable little schooner Post Boy, which for several years plied between Michigan City and Detroit, was caught one evening in November, 1833, and failed to gather headway in time to prevent disaster in a rising storm, for she was driven on the beach toward midnight, near the mouth of the creek, and in spite of the efforts of a crowd of excited citizens her cargo of salt and furniture, brought from Detroit, was damaged or lost. This was the earliest wreck occurring at the town, of which the present writer has found a record. The Post Boy was wrecked again, this time near Detroit, with a cargo of wheat billed to Buffalo by Samuel Miller in 1837 and a suit for damages resulted, which seems to have been the first case to reach the Indiana supreme court involving a Michigan City cause of action.

The Blairs and perhaps some of the other local forwarding merchants at one time built a pier extending to deep water from the creek mouth and laid a track of wooden stringers on which small cars were pushed from the warehouses to the end of the pier, where vessels could tie up in pleasant weather. Many such piers and tracks were constructed along the shore north of Michigan City in after years to accommodate the shippers of wood and lumber.

As soon as the appropriation became available and the necessary orders were passed down through the military channels, Captain Ward B. Burnet, of the corps of engineers, was assigned to the work of initiating the construction of the harbor. The first project contemplated the improvement of the inner harbor by dredging the creek, both widening and deepening it, and protecting the channel thus made by revetments and piers. This was the only plan until 1870, by which time a fair channel having an average depth of twelve feet in favorable stages of water had been obtained. Captain Stockton succeeded Burnet in 1837 and in 1841 Major J. R. Bowes was placed in charge.

Up to this date of 1870, there had been appropriated $287,388.92, the chief purpose of which, as has just been stated, was to establish a shipping port and also a harbor of refuge, at the mouth of Trail creek, Michigan City. In 1870, Congress, aroused by the demands of the citizens and impelled by the report of the engineers who saw that a simple inner harbor would not accommodate the rapidly growing commerce at the foot of the lake, made a specific appropriation of $25,000.00 for the outer harbor.

The plan prepared was to comprise an outer basin of some 40 acres located to the east of the entrance to the inner harbor, and an exterior detached breakwater to the westward designed to give increased safety to vessels entering during heavy weather; the combination (of outer and inner harbors) was intended to provide a safe harbor of refuge against

northerly gales, for general commerce. The structures included in the basin comprise a pier 1,225 feet long, a crib breakwater 30 feet wide and 1,215 long, and a breakwater pier 30 feet wide and 500 feet long.

The plan thus projected was worked out and completed from 1870 to 1885, and the expenditures since that time had been chiefly for repairs. In 1882 an 'exterior' breakwater was thought necessary; this was to lie in the open lake westward of all other harbor works, and when completed was to have a total length of 2,000 feet, made of two arms forming an interior angle of 130 degrees with each other. In 1894 work on this modification had been about half finished, and the total expenditure at that date amounted to $718,029.31. Off and on, as may be noticed from the table, sums had been appropriated by Congress for the inner harbor as well, and the money had been spent chiefly in repairs and in maintaining the requisite depth in the inner channel. The piers here had decayed, owing, it must be confessed in some cases, to the negligence of property holders. In 1882 also, the channel upstream had been lengthened, so that later on a total length of 9,159 feet had been secured, and a depth of 12 feet obtained, in 1894, to amplify the capacity of both harbors.

In 1894 Lieut. Colonel G. J. Lydecker became engineer in charge, and he continued the work till February 23, 1899. During his office considerable attention was given to the extension of the inner harbor to an interior waterway of 9,859 feet, and it was owing to his energy that the government began to realize the necessity of fostering the commerce of Michigan City. In his report for the year 1895 he states that no great advantage to local commerce can be secured unless all the projects should be immediately completed. At that time he added that "some minor modifications of detail may be desirable to finish the harbor in the best possible shape," and he "respectfully urged that the next appropriation should supply the means for putting it all under contract." Michigan City was then in the collection district of Chicago which city is the nearest port of entry. The Light-House Establishment maintained a fifth-order coast light on the main shore, and there was a life-saving station at the shore line east of the harbor entrance.

In 1897, however, dissatisfaction not only with the progress of the work, but also at the character of the plan itself, became so general that it could no longer be ignored. The draft of vessels using this area of Lake Michigan had long exceeded the modest allowance of 12 feet; steamers for the carriage of freight had come into more general use, superseding the original sailing schooners which had in earlier times brought merchandise and lumber to Michigan City; a considerable passenger traffic had likewise been developed between this harbor and Chicago. One great purpose for which the outer harbor had been planned, was the protection to be offered to craft of all kinds exposed to the sudden and severe storms apt to occur at any moment near Michigan City, but in place of the protection promised, the piers and cribs forming the outer harbor had become in reality a source of danger, so that sailing masters and pilots actually avoided rather than sought this harbor. Naturally the residents of Michigan City were dissatisfied with the result and distressed at the loss of cargoes, or not infrequently of life, which occurred. An instance of such disasters, as far back as 1836, when the government first undertook the construction of the improvement may be given. Abraham R. Harper, from Pennsylvania, came west to seek a new home and to start in business.

He arrived in Michigan City via Chicago, bound for South Bend, where he had decided to settle. He ordered $10,000.00 worth of goods from Philadelphia, which were shipped to Buffalo the first of June. From Chicago they were reshipped to Michigan City on the schooner Sea Serpent. Half an hour after arriving a terrible storm arose which beached his boat and finally drove it into the mouth of Trail creek where much was lost on the sand hills. Several other vessels in port were wrecked at the same time and the entire population turned out in great excitement. Harper got his goods together, dried them out on Hoosier Slide, and transported them in wagons to South Bend, where he was a leading merchant for twenty years.

As the years grew, the losses and fatalities increased in greater proportion than the government offered means to prevent them.

The inhabitants sent to Congress petitions for closer attention to their wants; the governors of the state, as they followed one another in office, made the crying needs of the city a feature of their annual messages; and all this time the commerce at this end of the lake had been slipping away, chiefly toward the more favored but naturally no better equipped port of Chicago. While Congress had spent millions upon Chicago up to 1897, only $1,273,638.92 had been spent upon Michigan City. When the genuine purpose had not been accomplished, the injustice was evident, and the War Department, February 16, 1897, convened a board of engineer officers to advise on some change in the location of the outer breakwater. Their report submitted immediately, contained the following statements:

PERISTYLE, WASHINGTON PARK

"There has been a material shoaling (3 feet) since the adoption of the plans of 1882. The exterior breakwater, if constructed on the original plans, will be in depths of only 19 to 23 feet. Since 1890 the fill in front of the east breakwater has been rapid, and there has been a large deposit behind the west pier. Sand now finds an easy entrance to the outer harbor through the entrance between the breakwaters, in a place of deposit sheltered by the work constructed after that date (1890). The area available for vessels drawing 85 feet has been reduced from 40 acres to 25 acres, and the area of depths over 18 feet about 25

per cent. The area of the proposed harbor for refuge is now, for vessels of 12 feet, less than it was in 1890 for vessels drawing 15 feet. Further shoaling is to be apprehended if the work is completed on the lines adopted.

"While the available area of the harbor has materially diminished, the dimensions of vessels plying the lakes have largely increased. Depths of from 15 to 18 feet are now generally demanded for harbors on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, although in 1882 12 feet was usually considered ample. Vessels of lengths exceeding 300 feet are not infrequent, and some of the first class freight vessels, have lengths exceeding 400 feet.

"The entrance to the harbor is also becoming difficult during a storm. No vessel drawing 15 feet of water would attempt to enter between the piers and turn under the shelter of the west breakwater during a northwest storm. It would be difficult for a vessel drawing 12 feet, particularly if accompanied by a tow.

"It is therefore evident that the proposed exterior breakwater, when completed, will be of service as a harbor of refuge only to vessels of light draft, and therefore the value of the exterior constructions is not apparent. Another objection is raised by pilots; during storms the entrance to the inner harbor is more dangerous than it would be otherwise, for in a northwest storm a current is produced by the west breakwater tending to throw the head of the vessel toward the east, and another, reverse current tends to drive the vessel toward the west. During a storm from the north or northeast a vessel could enter the inner harbor more readily if the west breakwater be removed. That these objections are not groundless is indicated by the fact the vessels avoid the harbor during storms.

"The board therefore advised some radical alterations in the plans, so as to perfect in reality the intention to make at Michigan City a harbor of refuge for vessels on the lake. Their recommendations were: To extend the east breakwater, to connect the east pier of the inner harbor to the east breakwater, and to reconstruct the western arm of the west breakwater. This will avoid the cost of repairs to the works surrounding the outer basin, and will also have a beneficial effect on the currents at the inner harbor."

The estimated cost of completing the work as thus proposed was $282,150.00, but, adds the engineer's report of 1898, these figures will in all probability be largely exceeded if operations have to be extended through several seasons and carried on under small appropriations. Notwithstanding these specific statements, the government appropriated in 1899 only $7,500.00 for the inner harbor alone, from which meager sum the cost of maintenance of the watchman at the end of the pier, which by rights should be met by the Light House Board, was deducted. The economical and judicious course would have been to appropriate $195,000.00, which, with the unexpended balance of previous appropriations, could have been made to complete the work.

Finally, on June 6, 1900, Congress did appropriate in one sum, to be devoted to the outer harbor, $195,000.00. It also permitted the engineers to let out the work by contract—the continuing contract system—which they hoped would give better and more rapid results. In this respect, however, their hopes were not altogether fulfilled; owing to bad storms at the most unfavorable times, to miscalculations on the part of some contractors and to unavoidable labor difficulties, much of the work was delayed beyond the period estimated as necessary.

Nevertheless, progress was made during 1901 and 1902, and in this year there was added encouragement in the action of Congress which now appropriated $63,000.00 to continue the work, this time making no distinction between inner or outer harbor, thinking it best to leave to the discretion of the engineers on the spot the particular places on which the money should be expended. They re-

joiced to feel that "it was conceived to be the intention of Congress hereafter to treat the Michigan City work as a unit."

That commerce was growing, may be seen from the report of 1903, in which the tonnage was given for 1901, at 111,949, while that for 1902 had become 130,115; and in 1902 there had entered the harbor, exclusive of traffic between Michigan City and Chicago, 826 steam vessels and 51 sailing craft.

In 1904 a slight modification was made in the plans of 1900, so that the length of the breakwater was reduced from 1,400 feet to 1,300 feet. Moreover, the engineers had received and transmitted to the government, a petition signed by the mayor and numerous citizens of Michigan City, requesting—"the removal of the portion of the west pier south of the part now undergoing repairs, and the construction of a new pier practically on the line of the remaining outer part, whereby the width of the entrance channel would obtain uniform width of about 220 feet."

Thus the year 1905 is reached, but the harbor is not completed, yet the government is wiser than it was, and there is every prospect that Michigan City will before long be equipped to care for and foster the extensive commerce that is hers by right. The condition of the harbors at the present may be described as follows: There is a channel 9,159 feet long between revetments from 100 to 175 feet apart, except at the turning basins, where the width is about 330 feet. The upper limit of this improved channel is 100 feet above the upper turning basin, but above the lower part of the upper turning basin the channel has shoaled and is not available for lake vessels. In the outer entrance there is a depth of 20 to 32 feet; at the entrance to the inner harbor, 18 feet for a width of 120 feet next to the east pier; thence to the inner end of the piers, 16 feet in the channel of best water; thence to Sixth Street Bridge, 15 feet, except about 300 feet below the angle above Franklin Street Bridge, where the available depth was 14.5 feet; from the Sixth Street Bridge to the first angle above, 14.5 feet; thence to the second angle 12 feet, and at the lower end of the upper basin, 7 feet. The channel does not maintain itself and provision should be made for periodical dredging.

In the outer harbor the piers and breakwaters covering the outer basin have a total length of 3,171 feet measured on the harbor face, viz., a pile pier 1,225 feet long, extending in a northerly direction from the shore and closing the basin on the east; a crib breakwater 1,411 feet long, extending westward from the lake end of the pile pier and closing the basin on the north, and a crib pier 535 feet long, measured from the angle in the harbor face or 505 feet measured from the rear face of the breakwater, extending northward from the west end of the crib breakwater. Of the exterior breakwater,—a length of only 700 feet has been completed. On October 20, 1904, the care of the lights at harbor entrance, which had been maintained up to that time at the expense of the appropriations for this harbor, was assumed by the United States Light-House Establishment.

In 1905 Congress appropriated $45,000.00 for general use so that, deducting all expenditures and liabilities, there remained on hand, available July 1, 1905, to meet future obligations the sum of $53,037.13.

Whatever discredit may have attached to the early governmental processes on and about this Michigan City harbor, should not be reflected upon the engineers in charge. In some instances there is evident neglect, deafness to the cry of a stifled industry, and incompetency, but none of this arose from the engineer

corps of the army in charge. The folly of useless expenditure and the ignoring the local petitions of Michigan City's business, arose altogether within Congress, and the active engineers stationed on the ground, could do only as they were told, or as the funds at their disposal permitted. There was bad politics at the bottom of it all, in which outside interests prevailed, although the representatives from this district did everything possible to gain a proper recognition for their only state harbor on Lake Michigan.

But the story of the Michigan City Harbor would be incompletely and poorly told, if only the reports of Congress were examined. To catch the vital element in this growth of nearly eighty years, the unwritten history of the town itself must be studied, and public documents, transactions of the local business organizations, as well as the public spirited and often self sacrificing conduct of the men of affairs, must be investigated.

While the government was doing nothing, the city itself was by no means idle. After the appropriations of 1836, '37, and '38, there was an interval of six years before another cent was allowed; in 1844 $25,000.00 was given, not till 1852 did even $20,000 appear, but from that date till 1866 there is a hiatus of fourteen years during which nothing whatever was attempted or accomplished for Michigan City by those having power in Washington. Much of this neglect must be explained by the crisis of the civil war, in which all the money obtainable from any source was devoted to the cost of that awful struggle, but the need was there, and the citizens themselves bravely attempted to meet it.

As far back as 1864, on July 4th of that year, in fact, a meeting was held in the City Hall of Michigan City to complete the organization of the Michigan City Harbor Company, and to devise such other work as they thought best to aid the projected improvement. They then memorialized Congress in dignified terms; they omitted to mention that the expenditure of the money from past appropriations was barren of results, they did not complain that the harbor afforded no shelter to the ships plying at this end of the lake, they drew no particular attention to the patent facts that the piers were fallen into decay, that material purchased by the government had been allowed to rot or to slip unused and unobserved into the water, they restrained their impatience at seeing the work of one summer nullified or destroyed by the pitiless storms of the succeeding winter, but they did ask that the government permit them to take over what remained of the original plans and construction already accomplished, and to carry out as best they might, a plan of their own whereby they hoped to do something to further the interests of the nation, of the state of Indiana, and of their own city.

In 1865 authority was granted to this company to use the government piers in the harbor for the purpose of protecting said harbor. Under this authority, and power created by the State Legislature in 1865, the Michigan City Harbor Company commenced to collect money from the stockholders, and continued to do so until many of the stockholders were nearly, if not entirely bankrupt and impoverished. This money so collected was used to rebuild foundations on the old government piers, and to make extensions out into the lake so as to protect the mouth of Trail creek before dredging could be undertaken.

The Company stuck manfully at their self appointed task; up to June 1867 they had expended $100,526.53. The city also had done its share toward facilitating commerce by dredging and building docks, even since the government had

GRAND STAIRWAY IN CITY LIBRARY

taken charge of the work, and their expenditure had amounted to $20,767.85. In addition to the above, private parties had added improvements to the extent of $63,000.00.

The harbor thus again began to take definite shape, so that commerce found here a degree of safety, not perhaps commensurate with what had been promised when the government first assumed control but certainly encouraging to those who had feared that the vicinity of Trail creek might be forgotten as navigable water on Lake Michigan. Then, as the petition states, not their ambition nor their confidence, but their funds, began to run low; and when Congress showed a disposition to aid other harbors, not only on the sea coast but those on interior waters as well, this company again petitioned the national government to take over the work where the Michigan City Harbor Company had left off. Here may be noticed an item of self sacrifice which everyone will acknowledge, speaks well for the innate goodness of human nature. This company petitioned Congress to appropriate a sum equivalent to that sum which the stockholders had expended out of their own pockets, and for which they had directly received no reward; but instead of asking that this sum be repaid them, they begged only that it be further expended upon the harbor, as an earnest of what the government intended to do in future.

It cannot be doubted but that by this action the harbor of Michigan City was saved. Although Congress did not immediately comply with this petition, yet it did allot in the years 1868 and 1869 the sum of $100,000.00, and the work was thereafter continued, as has been explained.

That Michigan City might have been the immense commercial emporium of which the first explorers and settlers at this end of the lake had at one time dreamed, cannot be by an impartial observer denied. An early student of the problem had declared that in comparison with Chicago the possibilities of Michigan City were immeasurably superior. By nature this would seem to have been so destined; by the inhabitants of the spot, who lacked no ambition or enterprise possessed by those of the lake station on the opposite shore, it was so planned. But fate, and a congress blind to the calls and petitions of our neighbors, and more inclined to yield to the influences of those who were shrewder politicians though by no means cleverer or more alert business men, decided otherwise. Yet today, in spite of the fact that we cannot call ourselves a metropolis in the world's eye, we nevertheless have what is a possession of equal pride, a city growing in all that makes life profitable, and a city of peaceful homes.

Ignoring for the moment the demands of increasing commerce, which of course needs protection here, it is a vital purpose to hasten to completion the harbor of refuge, so that such disasters as have occurred even in recent years may never be repeated.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

The City In the Making.

It is a feature of Americanism that we instinctively incline toward organization. We love precedent, and the form and ceremony of public action, but we sometimes ignore the value of the record and forget how vital to the establishment of a precedent may be the evidence of a document.

In Europe, public archives and records go back in an unbroken line through and beyond the dark ages, but in the United States the hardest task of the historian is to find, among the scraps of irregular registers, the facts that must be at the foundation of his narrative.

This rule is evident in the study of the beginnings of Michigan City. It was the express purpose of Major Elston to establish at this favored spot in Indiana an organized town. The early inhabitants had no more than drifted into the shadow of Hoosier Slide than they yielded to the Anglo-Saxon instinct and organized themselves into a town government, but unfortunately all record of what they did, or inclined to do, all documentary evidence of the public action from 1833 to 1836, has disappeared. There is a tradition that the transactions of a town board were entered in a note book, but this book has not been found, and therefore nothing but the imagination can guide us toward these early fathers.

We know, for instance, that the town must have built a bridge on Franklin street; before that, even, we know that Major Elston had laid out a town in which he had inscribed street names; that he was not satisfied with the original Indian name Me-eh-wy nor the French Du Chemin, but preferred Trail Creek for the stream that wandered into his future harbor; likewise he would not accept haphazard names for the streets which were ultimately to become the thoroughfares of his expected city, and therefore chose, far in advance of the demand, such significant names as Franklin, Washington, and Wabash. It was across this very Franklin street, that the bridge mentioned above had been built. It was a wooden bridge, but the timbers were in an excellent state of preservation; it crossed over Fish-lake Creek, which once wandered through the town, at about where Zeese's dry goods store now is, but the creek has lost its beauty and its being, although the waters still serve a utilitarian purpose by helping along the Fourth street sewer that flows below modern brick pavement.

An interesting confirmation of this original activity of the town, is furnished by Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, in her volume of reminiscences of Chicago, "Wau-Bun." Here she states, in talking of the north side of the Chicago river, that "there was still another house—built by a former resident of the name of Miller, but he had removed to Riviere du Chemin, or Trail Creek, which about that time (1831) began to be called Michigan City.. * * I can now recall a petition that was circulated in the garrison about that period, for 'building a brigg over Michigan City'—an accommodation much needed by travelers at that day."

But no record of this fact exists. The town was growing rapidly; not only did

it serve as a transient resting place for those going even further west, but, as has been shown, it also attracted for permanent abode many who saw with a keener eye for the future, the important possibilities for Indiana's only harbor. To handle this fluid mass of human beings, to preserve order and expedite public business, there must have been a town government, yet nothing beyond hearsay remains. To be sure the county of LaPorte had been organized by the state legislature in 1832, and necessarily much of the formal business of the people was in the hands of county officers, but there still remained a town life of which written record is lost. This is unfortunate, because in the earliest movements of a community may often be detected the germs from which a great idea springs.

The factors to make a city were already at work; we have seen how migration was at first attracted to the Indiana shores of Lake Michigan; how the state at once encouraged this direction by devising and building the Michigan Road as a south and north path for traffic; how Major Elston had pushed his town site project with future commercial greatness in view, and how the people, backed at times by the United States government, had not rested content until they had the promise of a real harbor which should make at and within the mouth of Trail Creek a safe anchorage for the lake traffic. Much was expected of Michigan City in the way of growth because of this harbor, and Indiana was not going to let slip the chances to partake of the growing lake business. Therefore, these influences working together, produced the desired result, and the city soon became a fact.

February 8, 1836, the state legislature passed an act incorporating Michigan City. Credit must be given to Dr. Lee H. T. Maxson, state representative from LaPorte county, and to Gustavus A. Everts, state senator, for activity in securing the enactment of this charter.

This first charter for Michigan City, one of the most elaborate enactments for the government of a city that the general assembly had yet formulated, consisted of 57 sections and provided in minute detail for the conduct of the affairs of the young municipality. The first section, prescribing the boundaries, was as follows:

Section I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana. That the district of country in the county of LaPorte within the following bounds, that is to say, beginning at the southwest corner of section number thirty-one, in township number thirty-eight north, of range number four west, from thence north along the west line of said section, and to continue in that course into Lake Michigan until it reaches the north line of the state, from thence east along the state line through the lake, three miles, thence south to the shore of said lake, to where the east line of fractional section number twenty-one, in the aforesaid township, intersects the lake shore; thence south along the east line of said fractional section and continuing that course to the southeast corner section number thirty-three, thence west along the south line of sections thirty-three, thirty-two and thirty-one, to the place of beginning, shall hereafter be known as Michigan City.

This area of fifteen square miles, nearly, constituted one of the largest cities in the United States at that time, geographically, and was an expression of the general belief that Michigan City was to become within a short period the leading commercial port on the lower shores of the lake, although about half the enclosure lay under the waters of the lake. With some changes the boundary still remains as above prescribed.

The city was to be considered as one ward until the first Tuesday in April, 1842; in January, 1842, the council was to erect not less than three nor more

than five wards; each ward was to have two members of the council. The officers were to be the mayor, recorder, five aldermen, treasurer, one or more collectors and not less than three assessors or listers. "Alden Clark, Homer S. Findlay, Wm. W. Taylor, John Sherwood and Richard C. Inman, are to be inspectors of the first election, to be held at the school house in said city, the first Tuesday of April next, when all voters who have resided within the bounds six months shall be legal voters, and if freeholders, eligible to office, the same as though they had resided in the state one year." Every voter must be an actual resident and make oath if challenged. The officers-elect were to take office on the second Tuesday in April of each year and serve for one year. The council had the appointment annually of the treasurer, city attorney, street commissioner, high constable, one or more police constables, clerk of the market, one or more collectors, one or more poundmasters, porters, carriers, cartmen, packers, bell-men, sextons, common criers, scavengers, measurers and inspectors of grain, measurers and inspectors of wood, scalers of weights and measures, and gaugers; also the selection of the corporation newspaper for legal advertising, the designation of a place and time for bathing in the creek and harbor, the creation of a board of health and the organization of a fire department. Other appointments authorized were the health physician, harbor masters, chief engineer and two assistants of the fire department, and nightwatch. Power to tax for street lighting was given, also power to compel the construction of sidewalks. The contingent expenses of the city were limited to $8,000 annually. "All that portion of Trail Creek from its mouth to the contemplated basin of a canal which is about to be made is hereby declared a public highway."

VIEW OF THE HARBOR

The first city election was held as directed, but the record of it is lost. The result is found in the record of the first meeting of the common council, held April 12, 1836, from which date the council records are complete and for the most part carefully kept. The minutes of the first meeting are as follows:

At a meeting of the common council of Michigan City held on Tuesday, the

12th day of April, 1836, the following persons were appointed by ballot as follows, to-wit: For Treasurer, Francis C. Goode; for Attorney, J. R. Wells; for Street Commissioner, Jos. Oakman; for High Constable, Hirmen Lawson; for Clerk of the Market, Purley D. Shumway; for Collector, Oscar A. Barker; for Pound Master, James Waddell; for Packers, Benjamin James & Alden Clark; for Sexton, David Harrison; for Inspectors of Wheat, Zebina Gould & William S. Clark; for Gaugers and Sealers of Weights & Measures, Thos. Snow & Henry C. Skinner; for Chief Engineer, Warren Cole; for Assistant Engineers, Robert Stewart & Homer S. Finley; for Printer, Samuel Miller; for Inspectors and Measurers of Wood, Geo. H. Knight & Ira Wilson, for Fire Wardens, Benj. James, Cortland Strong, Fisher Ames, Geo. Taylor, Tavner B. Switzer and David Finley; for Harbour Master, Jonathan T. Barker.

Resolved, that the next meeting be held on the 19th inst.

CALEB F. FISK, Recorder.
WILLYS PECK, Mayor.

This original charter was altered at various times. On February 6, 1837, there was an amendment in which the election laws and the tax laws were changed, and the government and powers of the council were enlarged. Trail Creek was made a public highway to the center of section twenty-eight.

February 12, 1839, another amendment provided that the charter shall in no wise be construed as vesting powers in contravention to the Constitution of the United States. This was published in the Michigan City Gazette.

February 15, 1839, it was decreed that the northeast quarter of section thirty-eight, "now included in the limits of the corporation of Michigan City, shall hereafter constitute, and its boundary lines form, the limits of a village to be known and designated as City Niles." This means section twenty-eight.

February 15, 1841, there was an amendment to define the boundary as at the first, except that the northeast quarter of section thirty-eight was taken out.

January 22, 1842, there was an amendment concerning taxes.

January 15, 1844, the northwest quarter of section thirty-one, and the west half of the northwest quarter of section thirty-two, were excluded from the limits and jurisdiction of the corporation.

December 25, 1844, the charter was amended to allow publication by posting, when there was no newspaper published in the city.

January 26, 1847, another slight amendment was made.

February 14, 1848, the error in two former acts was corrected so that section *thirty-eight* was declared to mean section *twenty-eight*.

January 21, 1850, the following blocks and streets in Michigan City were vacated, by order of the county commissioners: Blocks 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, and fractional blocks west of Perry street in section twenty-nine, said lots being in Michigan City Land Company's survey. Also the west one-half of blocks 16, 25, 26, 35, in Elston's survey, being the parts of said blocks west of the alley. Also the streets between said blocks, viz: Buffalo, Manhattan, Elston, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Huron, Columbia, Miami, Perry, Market and Seventh, and the alleys in said blocks.

Under the new constitution of 1851 the legislature enacted the law of March 9, 1857, providing a general form for the government of cities, and the question at once arose whether or not Michigan City should abandon the special charter of 1836 and accept the provisions of the new act. At the next election, April 6, 1858, the issue was squarely presented in the nominations and the vote, 322 to 192

for mayor, was accepted as a declaration for the change. Accordingly the city attorney, James Orr, was instructed by the council, at its first meeting after the election, to investigate the legal aspects of the proposed change, and he soon submitted a lengthy report, which was published in full in the Enterprise of May 12. In the previous November many citizens had joined in petitioning the council to come in under the new law, and now, six months later, on the receipt of Orr's report, the petition was granted and the council adopted a series of resolutions surrendering the old charter and accepting the provisions of the general law, the vote standing: Yeas, Aldermen Thomas Larkin, E. M. Davis, W. D. Woodward and John Kreiger; nay, C. S. Winship.

The common council adopted a city seal May 24, 1859, thus described: "A device in the center of a ship, sheaf of wheat, etc., with the words Corporate Seal of Michigan City, Indiana, in a circle on the outer edge of the same."

At the March term, 1877, certain areas were annexed to Michigan City, by the county commissioners:

1. Part of the northeast quarter of section twenty-eight, commencing at the northeast quarter of said quarter section, thence west on the north line 160 rods to the northwest corner, thence south on the west line 160 rods to the southwest corner, thence east on the south line 160 rods to the southeast corner, thence north on the west line 160 rods to the beginning.

2. All of the northeast quarter of section thirty-one and all that portion of the west half of the northeast quarter of section thirty-two not embraced in Blair's second and southwest additions. In all, about twenty-five additions have been made to the city.

January 2, 1882, at a special session, it was ordered that Jas. E. Bradley, county surveyor, make a new and complete map of Michigan City.

By an act approved by the governor March 7, 1889, certain supposed defects in the passage and adoption of corporate ordinances and by-laws were legalized and made valid.

The statement made at the beginning of this chapter, it will be seen, has been fully justified; some records are missing, others are faulty, and some so inaccurately kept that the legislature had to come to the rescue of the hard working city fathers, who were surely so absorbed in doing good and making the city grow that they forgot to set down in proper form just how they did it.

All this has been dry reading. It would be drier still if one were restricted to the uninstructive details of the resolutions and acts of council meetings, but one with any imagination at all can easily see between the lines the life of a new city, eager to grasp opportunity and to meet the needs of the citizens. Among the first ordinances passed, with date of April 26, 1836, was that compelling the people to keep fire ladders and buckets, with other guards against fires, which, we must judge from this, were already commencing to be too frequent. This seemed not sufficient to prevent what trouble or excitement may have arisen from fires, so the council shortly afterward, in 1837, passed an ordinance regulating the fire department, specifying officers and equipping a company. Not even such measures sufficed, for on February 10, 1838, the watchful council ordered that these fire companies be exercised in the use of such apparatus as might be committed to their charge. As brick in many cases displaced stone, and as the citizens began to exercise a greater watchfulness, so developed the system by which fires were extinguished when once they started. In 1867 (April 22) there was an ordinance that estab-

lished the fire limits, within which people must submit to certain regulations in building, and without which the engines and men were not supposed to go. February, 2, 1881, a reorganization of the fire department was begun, and the city council specified that there should be two assistant chiefs, and such engine companies, with hook and ladder and hose companies, as might be formed agreeable to the ordinance. The chief was elected annually by the council, but these two assistants were his appointees. This step marked the departure from the old style of volunteer fire companies, with their regalia, their uniforms, their annual dinners, and their exuberant rivalry, to the newer method, wherein the company was an organized force of the city, the men paid a salary, and the equipment a costly apparatus such as is demanded by any modern municipality. But many a heroic deed was performed under the stimulus of the volunteer spirit, many a fire put out by men who rushed from their daily tasks to show their loyalty in service to their fellow citizens.

April 9, 1894, the fire department was reorganized; it was divided into companies, each of which was limited to seventeen members. March 27, 1899, an ordinance created a fund for injured firemen, and the pay of the members of the department was fixed.

Today all the elements of a modern fire fighting machine are here; there are two fire companies, each with a captain and men regularly on the pay roll.

It was not until April 19, 1859, that the common council made any special provision for police control and for a city prison. On that date an ordinance was passed containing elaborate details for a police force, mayor's court and city prison, and May 30, by another ordinance, it was provided that a workhouse should be established. The workhouse feature was repealed Jan. 26, 1877, when it was enacted that the north room of the first story of the brick building lately erected on the southwest corner of a piece of ground designated as the public square on the plat of the subdivision of Block 13 in the original plat should be established as a city workhouse or prison.

Hand in hand with the work of protecting the city from the disasters from fire, and with the necessary vigil demanded in a frontier city, into which were entering the hardy pioneers who builded our West, but who, from the very nature of the case, were not always law abiding and therefore could be kept in order only by the police and a jail, went other movements that showed how earnest were the first officials to lay a good foundation upon which the future city might develop. Even before attention had been given to the fire department, but probably with a view to the same end, the council, April 19, 1836, passed an ordinance that owners of lots must remove brush and decayed timber. There was a penalty for neglect to do this, and special attention was directed to the residents along Wabash, Franklin, Washington, Pine, Spring and Cedar streets, on which, at that time, the greatest activity had spread. This primitive attempt at municipal house cleaning seems not to have been sufficient, because, less than a year later, on February 6, 1837, the ordinance was repealed, and a more general and thorough method took its place. Travel was increasing, business demanded roads of a more uniform standard, and it was on that date decided to grub out and to turnpike those streets most used for traffic. This was a real city improvement showing the ambition to prepare acceptable thoroughfares, but the anticipated prosperity which had made of Michigan City a lodestone attracting thither much of the commercial hope of the older country to

the east, sank unhappily beneath the panic of 1837, so that for years the question of street improvement was seldom discussed in the council.

On May 14, 1850, when the forces of expansion were again at work, we find that Michigan City had turned the corner of hard luck, and was again intent on her career of progress. The council ordered a portion of Franklin street graded and planked, the purpose being to establish a plank road all the way to LaPorte, and another to Springville. But at this period it was deemed best to delegate the actual construction of such things to private activity, so on October 8, 1850, the Plank Road Company was authorized to use Franklin street.

The plank road idea prevailed for many years, and on June 21, 1881, a plank road was ordered along Elston avenue. This was the last of the cruder methods of paving, however, for in 1887 Franklin street was ordered paved with cedar blocks, and from that date on, the street pavements were rapidly and carefully extended. Meanwhile other street matters received attention; in 1879 the Michigan Central Railroad was given the right of way on Front street. The Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad in 1879 was equally favored, certain streets being vacated to the use of its tracks, and in the same year of 1879, so important had become the industry of the Haskell and Barker Car Company, that it also was permitted to lay certain tracks on certain streets, which thus were practically absorbed into that industry.

THE MARSH PUBLIC SCHOOL

In 1889 all crossings and buildings were numbered according to a uniform system, and in 1892 the decimal plan of house numbering was introduced.

One of the most modern ideas in street government, which shows how progres-

P. O. Box 549
Seattle, Wash. 98111

sive the city had become, and really how much in advance the officials were in that civic pride which makes for comfort and beauty, was made a law in 1899; this law prohibited the use of the public streets for advertising purposes.

Having attended to the immediate necessities of fire, police and roads, the council in the second year of existence and work, that is, on December 5, 1837, attacked the problem of drainage. It was ordered that water courses be opened on Pine and Market streets, and that water standing on them be removed. The system of surface drainage continued for some years, partly because the city had not grown fast enough to require a more exact or hygienic method, but partly also because municipal education, in the United States in general, had not then developed to the degree in which underground drainage was the rule. We see even today in such great cities as New Orleans that surface drainage is still tolerated, and therefore it is a matter of pride that as early as 1873 Michigan City ordered a sewer to be made on Franklin street. Gradually these improvements were carried on, so that Washington street was ordered underlaid in June, 1881, Pine street a few months after, and Spring street in May, 1882.

April 27, 1875, there was passed the ordinance for the construction of the water works for supplying water for both domestic and fire purposes.

In 1887 an extension of the water mains was ordered, but in 1887, a special election on February 23 was held, in which the question was put to a vote by the people, whether the city should assume an indebtedness for bonding the water works system. In favor of the plan were 843 votes, against it only 85 votes, so that March 14, 1887, the authority to do so was voted by the council. Three weeks thereafter, in April, the council passed a second ordinance providing for the erection and construction of pumps, machinery and other details of a complete water system. But it was decided that municipal management of this public utility was unnecessary, and therefore, on April 10, 1899, a franchise was given to the Lake Michigan Water Company, which assumed control of the city's plant, and has since managed it. At present there are two pumps each with a capacity of 400,000,000 gallons every twenty-four hours, although the average daily consumption will not go much above 400,000,000 gallons.

The illumination of the city began at a later date than that of the other municipal functions. Just how much indulgence was allowed for street lamps, in the days before gas became an article of commerce, cannot with accuracy be stated, but the records show that the first gas lighting was ordered on November, 1878, when the council granted the right to lay gas mains. This was followed shortly after, by the privilege accorded in 1880 to N. F. Cleary to lay pipes and to operate gas works. In 1881, I. H. Miller was granted the right to construct gas works and to lay pipes, and he seems to have been the first to undertake the task seriously.

In 1887, the Michigan City Natural Gas and Oil Company was chartered. The city street electric lighting is now done under contract by the Michigan City Gas and Electric Co., owned by the Geist syndicate.

TABLE OF CITY OFFICERS.

Under the original charter the chief officers of Michigan City were those named in the table below, the mayors and recorders being elected at the dates given and the treasurers being appointed by the council at the meeting next succeeding the election.

ELECTIONS	MAYORS	RECORDERS	TREASURERS
April 12, 1836.	Willys Peck.	Caleb B. Fisk.	Francis C. Good.
April 11, 1837,	Samuel Miller.	William W. Higgins.	Fisher Ames.
April 10, 1838.	Jonathan Burr.	William W. Higgins.	Fisher Ames.
April 9, 1839.	T. B. W. Stockton.	Chas. K. Averill.	Fisher Ames.
April 14, 1840.	John Francis.	Wm. H. Goodhue.	Fisher Ames.
April 6, 1841.	John Francis.	Joseph W. Chapman.	James Anton.
April 5, 1842.	John Francis.	James M. Stuart.	John Holliday.
April 4, 1843.	Samuel Mower.	Nathaniel P. Hopkins.	Abel D. Porter.
April 2, 1844.	John Francis.	John Holliday.	Abel D. Porter.
April 1, 1845.	John Francis.	Wm. W. Higgins.	Abel D. Porter.
April 7, 1846.	John Francis.	John Holliday. (Resigned Nov. 13.) Herman Lawson. (By Special Election.)	Abel D. Porter.
April 6, 1847.	John Francis.	Jacob S. Carter.	Augustus Barber.
April 4, 1848.	John Francis. (Resigned Oct. 10.) Ezekiel Folsom. (Special Election.)	I. Bigelow.	Augustus Barber.
April 3, 1849.	George Ames.	M. B. Miller.	John Francis. (June 1, vacancy declared.) Augustus Barber. (Dec. 11, he died.) I. S. Bigelow.
April 2, 1850.	John Francis.	I. S. Bige'ow.	John Holliday.
April 1, 1851.	John Francis.	I. S. Bigelow.	John Holliday.
April 6, 1852.	Charles Palmer.	I. S. Bigelow.	Abel D. Porter.
April 5, 1853.	Charles Palmer.	Miles B. Miller.	Abel D. Porter.
April 4, 1854.	Herman Lawson.	Miles B. Miller.	U. C. Follet.
April 2, 1855.	H. J. Rees.	I. S. Bigelow.	U. C. Follet.
April 1, 1956.	H. J. Rees.	I. S. Bigelow.	U. C. Follet.
April 7, 1857.	Charles Palmer.	Wm. Woodridge.	U. C. Follet.
April 6, 1858.	Charles Palmer.	Wm. Woodridge.	U. C. Follet.

Under the new law enacted in 1859, with its amendments, the city officers have been as shown below:

ELECTIONS	MAYORS	CLERKS	TREASURERS
May 3, 1859.	William W. Higgins.	Herbert Williams.	U. C. Follet.
May 7, 1861.	Charles S. Winship.	William Blinks.	J. E. Haddock. (Resigned Aug. 14.) Alson Bailey. (Appointed.)
May 5, 1863.	Henry H. Roberts.	William Blinks.	Alson Bailey.
May 2, 1865.	H. H. Walker.	George Paxton.	D. J. Baldwin.
May 7, 1867.	H. H. Walker.	George Paxton.	J. E. Haddock.
May 4, 1869.	H. H. Walker.	Edward J. Church.	C. G. A. Voight.
May 2, 1871.	H. H. Walker.	Edward J. Church.	Leonard Woods.
May 6, 1873.	W. W. Higgins.	Edward J. Church. (Resigned; special election Oct. 24, 1874.) Jerome Burbanks.	Leonard Woods.
May 4, 1875.	Wm. B. Hutchinson.	Samuel M. Eddy.	Leonard Woods.
May 1, 1877.	Wm. B. Hutchinson.	Darwin T. Brown.	Leonard Woods.
May 6, 1879.	John H. Barker.	Martin T. Krueger.	Leonard Woods.
May 3, 1881.	Harvey R. Harris.	Martin T. Krueger.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 1, 1883.	Harvey R. Harris.	Martin T. Krueger.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 5, 1885.	Walter Vail.	Wm. Ohming, Jr.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 3, 1887.	Wm. F. Woodson.	Henry A. Schwager.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 7, 1889.	Martin T. Krueger.	Geo. J. Staiger, Jr.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 5, 1891.	Martin T. Krueger.	Wm. Ohming, Jr.	Frederick Schauffele.
May 1, 1894.	Gerritt S. VanDeusen.	Albert H. Leist. (Resigned Mar. 14.) L. R. Krueger. (Appointed.)	Frederick Schauffele.
May 3, 1898.	M. T. Krueger.	Edward J. Heise.	Charles H. Miller.
May 6, 1902.	M. T. Krueger.	Edward J. Heise.	Charles H. Miller. (Resigned Nov. 17, 1902.) C. Elijah Meyer. (Appointed Dec. 1.)
May 3, 1904.	John E. Shultz.	Edward J. Heise.	C. E. Meyer.
Nov. 7, 1906.	Fred C. Miller.	Edward J. Heise.	Fred W. Schultz. (Never qualified.) C. E. Meyer. (Continued in office.)

CHAPTER XII.

The Railroads.

Statesmen, diplomats, historians and scientists agree that the most important element which lies at the root and beginning of a nation's progress, and that which is indeed the greatest part of the foundation of a country's civilization, is a system of good roads. Without this the national resources and energies remain to a degree unawakened and useless. Roads are the veins and arteries by means of which the circulation of the social body is carried on. Where they are clogged the march of civilization is retarded.

The United States offers a fascinating field for the study of this development, because within our confines can be seen the two phases of railroad expansion. In Europe settlement and civilization were facts years before the advent of steam transportation, and railroads had to be built in areas long and permanently inhabited by man. East of the Alleghenies, the same condition to a certain extent existed. In Australia and west of our Rocky mountains, where wild Indians and buffalo still roamed even after the steam engine sped across the plains, civilization was dragged, as it were, behind the chariot of the iron horse. But in Indiana, in her early days of statehood, we find a contemporary advance; the pioneers of civilization had just blazed their way westward to the shores of Lake Michigan over a forest trail, but before their cottages were built, their whole scheme of living was changed by those who came immediately after them on the railroad.

In 1826 the city of Baltimore began to lose business on account of the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and, in determining to offset this commercial disadvantage by something that could be turned into an asset, the energetic citizens decided to build that chimerical and untried thing, a railroad. Thus the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was the first to be chartered and constructed. The corner stone was laid and the first spike driven, July 4, 1828; the first division was opened for traffic on May 22, 1830; in July, 1835, the first direct rail communication was completed to Washington, and January 1, 1853, there was held a grand celebration in Wheeling, West Virginia, on the Ohio river, at the arrival of the first train over the mountains, which had come 379 miles from Baltimore in 19 hours.

What a furore in construction had attacked the rest of the nation as well! The present New York Central had paralleled the Baltimore and Ohio, reaching Lake Erie in 18 hours. The Michigan Central, as it is now known, ran its first train from Detroit to the city of Ypsilanti (then called Godfrey's) February 5, 1838; in October 1839 it reached Ann Arbor; in 1844 to Jackson and in 1846 to Marshall. In May, 1849, it landed passengers in New Buffalo, whence they were conveyed across the lake to Chicago. Then the journey could be made from New York to Chicago in two and one half days—which the local papers of that date asserted, in quaint slang, was "going some"!

In 1847 the Illinois Central railroad had begun to run trains within that state,

but they did not reach Chicago till 1848. The first train to arrive in Chicago from the east was over the tracks of the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana, now the Lake Shore, railroad, on February 29, 1852, and on May 21, 1852, the present Michigan Central landed its first train there.

But an immense gap in the history of transportation is to be filled before this date, which marks a new epoch in the life of Michigan City, can be discussed.

Before the railroads, came the canals, and it is a curious freak in material development that today (1907) canals threaten to regain that supremacy wrested from them by the railroads seventy years ago. In the East, canals like the Chesapeake and Ohio had seemed to solve the problem of rapid and cheap transit, but, as the city of Baltimore found out, the steam horse was more available. In the West, at the same time that canals were so popular elsewhere, there seemed every reason to hope that easier communication could be established by improving natural water-ways, or by building new ones. In 1814 President Madison in a message to Congress recommended Washington's idea derived from Joliet of a ship canal—the Illinois and Michigan—to connect the great lakes with the Mississippi. Work was begun later, and Chicago was to be the commercial terminus at the north. Many plans have been devised to connect Lake Erie with Lake Michigan, through the state of Michigan, but the state of Indiana had independent propositions which were intended to preserve for the benefit of her citizens the advantages to be derived from such an enterprise. Before 1833 there was a movement to build a canal from Lake Michigan to the Ohio river, and later a Wabash and Erie canal was projected so as to have a branch running to Lake Michigan at Michigan City. Then there was the famous Erie and Michigan canal, the construction on which was begun, and up to 1844 the amount expended on it had risen to $155,429.77. The auditor of the state, in his report for the year ending October 31, 1845, in adding that the amount expended for the last fiscal year had been $19.33, volunteers the remark that "this work has not *yet* yielded anything to the state." In

THE HERMITAGE

1839 C. and P. Blair advertised in the Chicago American that they were Michigan City agents for the Erie canal lines. This Erie and Michigan canal was to run down Elkhart river, then in the Big St. Joseph to South Bend, down the Kankakee to Grapevine creek, up that to its source in Michigan, then six miles across to the source of Trail creek, and finally down Trail creek to Michigan City. Toledo was to be the eastern terminus, and at stated places the waters were to be stored in reservoirs, for reserve purposes and to be used to propel machinery. Some traces of the old canal may still be found in the neighborhood of Rome City, one of the ambitious towns of Northeastern Indiana, for at this place is a lake, called today the Reservoir on the map; visitors are wont to think of it as a work of nature, but in reality it is a memorial to the thwarted energy of man.

The panic of 1837 blasted the hopes of many men and many canals, and delayed the plans for many a railroad, but even before that date the dream of railroad building had fascinated individuals and their public officials. In 1832 the Wabash and Michigan Railroad Company was incorporated on February 2. Its incorporators were "William C. Linton of Vigo, Israel T. Canby, Isaac C. Elston and Jonathan W. Powers of Montgomery, Samuel Milroy of Carrol, John Taylor and Thomas Benbridge of Tippecanoe, James Blair of Vermilion, James Armstrong and William Crumpton of Fountain, Abraham P. Andrew of Dearborn, John Egbert and Charles Vail of St. Joseph, Daniel Sigler and Joseph Orr of Putnam." The line was to run from Lafayette to the mouth of Dishman or Trail creek, and was to be commenced at either end within three years after extinguishment of the Indian title, and completed in twelve years from its commencement.

The very next day, in 1832, there was incorporated the New Albany, Salem, Indianapolis and Wabash railroad, to run from the Ohio to the Wabash, beginning at New Albany and touching Salem, Columbus and Indianapolis. It was to be commenced within two years and to be void unless completed within ten. This road, or rather its charter, played a noticeable part in Michigan City history afterward, as will be seen when the discussion of the passage across Northern Indiana is reached, because to it had been attached the privilege of an indefinite terminal point, the incorporators having been allowed to select a route for the best advantage of their road, at their discretion.

In 1834, on February 1, Joseph Orr, David Robb, John Brown, William Clark and David Harman of LaPorte county, obtained the incorporation for the Indiana Northwest railroad, to run from Michigan City to Vigo county.

February 6, 1835, there was incorporated the Buffalo and Mississippi Railroad company. This name will appear all through the history of the West, of Indiana, of Michigan City; and of the numerous railroads incorporated during that generation, it was one of the few that survived its paper charter. It was to run from the head of Maumee Bay to the rapids of the Illinois River in a direct line, but with authority to deflect for proper reasons. Michigan City fought for location on the line, but LaPorte had the best promises because John B. Niles, Gustavus A. Everts and Aaron Stanton of LaPorte city were among the incorporators.

It is really a difficult task to record all the plans, practicable and impracticable, projected and chartered, during these few months of exuberant prosperity and inflated values. The country, from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi river, was in the midst of what today is called a

'boom,' and nothing seemed beyond the powers or purpose of these optimistic expansionists of the Middle West. On February 7, 1835, the General Assembly of the State sent to Congress a memorial asking that the government sell to the state at not exceeding fifty cents per acre "a strip of land ten miles in width from Muncietown in Delaware county to Fort Wayne in Allen county, and from thence to Michigan City in LaPorte county," for the construction of a railroad or canal on said route. The incorporation of any railroad or canal was encouraged, and it was comparatively easy to obtain from the legislature a charter to construct something, so long as that body believed that the incorporators were in earnest. Thus, on February 7, 1835, the Frankfort, Delphi and Michigan Railroad and Turnpike was incorporated. Immediately afterward, on the same day, there was incorporated the Michigan City and Kankakee railroad, to build a railroad or canal from navigable waters of the Kankakee river to Michigan City. The incorporators were David Sprague, Wm. Teall, Jacob Bigelow, Joshua Hobart and David Burr, all of Michigan City. *Peck's Guide for Emigrants,* for 1835, mentions as projected improvements (in the West) the railroad from Toledo to Michigan City, a canal from Maumee Bay to Lake Michigan, and a railroad from Lafayette to Michigan City. The essence of these ambitious enterprises is expressed in an act of the legislature passed January 27, 1836, providing for a general system of internal improvements. The state, as an organic institution, was willing to foster anything intended to develop the country. It stood back of the New Albany and Salem railroad, running (over its present route) from New Albany to Salem; it encouraged the plan for the Lake Erie and Michigan canal or railroad, from the Wabash and Erie canal near Fort Wayne, via Goshen, South Bend, LaPorte to Lake Michigan at or near Michigan City. In fact, turnpikes, canals and railroads, all were considered by the state part of a necessary system of internal improvements, and the faith of the state was, therefore, irrevocably pledged to carry them out. Bonds were issued beyond the state's ability to pay, repudiation was threatened, and the credit of Indiana was saved in 1846 by the Charles Butler whom we have seen as a visitor to Michigan City in July, 1833.

In 1836, the Michigan City and Kankakee railroad was allowed by its charter to furnish surplus water for manufacturing purposes. On February 5, 1836, there was incorporated the LaPorte Canal and Railroad company, to build a railroad or canal from LaPorte to Lake Michigan by the best route; to be commenced within five and completed within seven years, or else void. William Clark, Jerid Wilson, William Sutherland, Abram W. Harrison, James C. Howell, David B. Freeman, Robert Merryfield, John Brown (elsewhere called "General"), Abram P. Andrew, Junior, Robert S. Morrison, Jeremiah Grover, William Hawkins, all of LaPorte county, were the incorporators.

In 1837, a joint resolution, approved January 16, requested senators and representatives to endeavor to obtain a grant of land from the United States equal to five alternate sections along each side of the line of the northern canal from Fort Wayne to Michigan City, for the purpose of aiding the state to complete said work. On February 4 of this year, David Sprague, Charles K. Averell, William Teale and William E. Moore of Michigan City (et al.), incorporated the Indianapolis and Michigan City railroad. Two days later, Alonzo W. Enos, Samuel Miller, James M. Scott, David Sprague, Jacob Bigelow, George Ames

William Teall, Jonathan Burr, Jas. Waddell, Daniel Low, Joshua Hobart, William E. Moore and Thomas Tyrrell, incorporated the Michigan City and St. Joseph railroad, to run from Michigan City to New Buffalo, and on the same date and day, the Buffalo and Mississippi railroad had its name changed to the Northern Indiana Railroad Company.

Here, if the reader has not already detected the objective point of all the ambitions for rapid transit inspiring the promoters, may be plainly seen the focus toward which all plans led and around which all hopes centered. This was Michigan City, the one Indiana harbor on the great lake, and the spot through which must pass all traffic to reach the productive prairies further west. Scarcely a canal was projected which did not have Michigan City as a terminal; hardly a railroad was drawn on the map without beginning or ending at Michigan City, or without aiming to establish connection with that spot. The Michigan road, which, be it noticed, was not part of the state's general scheme for internal improvements had no other purpose than to reach Michigan City; canals, turnpikes and railroads headed thither, and nature herself seemed to smile on the enterprise, but man's impetuous desire overcame his own ends, and with the panic of 1837 most of these dreams vanished.

It was not until 1842 that any activity in charter legislation was revived, but on January 18 of that year we find that the lapsed charter of the Frankfort, Delphi and Michigan Railroad company was restored, with the exception of that part connecting Delphi with Michigan City. On February 11, 1843, authority was given to incorporate a railroad from Michigan City to LaPorte and eastward, by which the company was empowered to take over the constructed grade of the Buffalo and Mississippi railroad between LaPorte and Michigan City at a price to be fixed by agreement, but if this could not be secured, then the new company had the right to build an independent line.

In 1846, an act was passed on January 6, by which the Buffalo and Mississippi Railroad company received a change in its charter so that it was permitted to arrange its route to go from LaPorte to Chicago via Michigan City. This same Buffalo and Mississippi railroad was the subject of joint resolutions approved January 19, 1846, and January 26, 1847, both of which recited commercial reasons for the desirability of a railroad from Toledo to Chicago via the southern bend of Lake Michigan. It added that there were military advantages also, especially in case of war with Great Britain ("which even now seems not improbable"), and asked that the land be donated by the United States for the purpose of helping this road.

In 1848, on February 8, the Buffalo and Mississippi charter was again amended; herein Chauncey B. Blair, Andrew L. Osborn, Abraham P. Andrew, Jr., William C. Hannah and William J. Walker were to constitute a board of commissioners to take charge of the railroad west of (the village of) LaPorte, to construct and operate it, as well as a branch from Michigan City to connect with the Michigan Central near New Buffalo. This was called the board of commissioners for the Western division of the Buffalo and Mississippi railroad, and had authority to borrow money of the Michigan Central, and to change from flat rail to T rail if deemed advisable after or before the line was constructed. They were directed to connect at Michigan City with the Michigan Central, and to haul the latter's trains to Chicago. Other roads were forbidden to compete with this line under penalty of forfeiture of their charter.

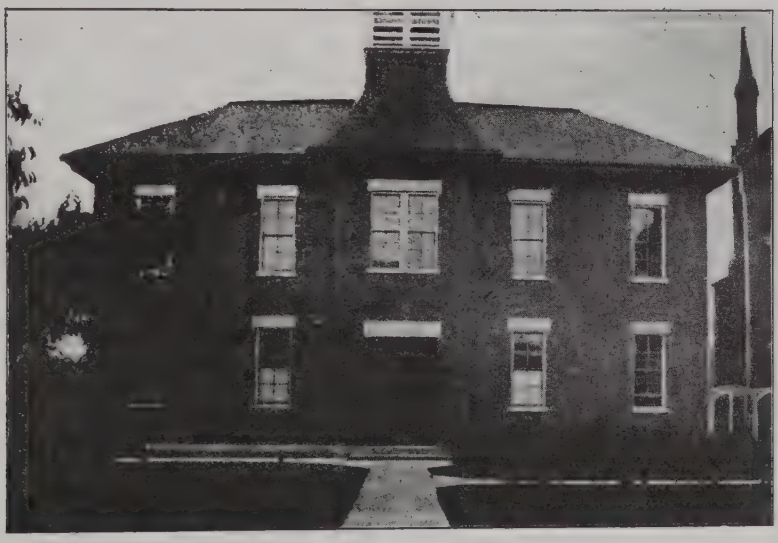
In 1848, on February 11, a bill became a law without the governor's signature, incorporating the Lake Michigan, Logansport and Ohio River Railroad company, to connect at Michigan City with the Buffalo and Mississippi.

February 15, 1848, there was incorporated the Lafayette, Monticello and Michigan City Railroad company, to run from Lafayette to Michigan City via Monticello, Winamac and LaPorte. Among the incorporators were William A. Place and Reuben Munday of LaPorte county.

kiel Morrison were among the incorporators.

All this is recorded history, and can be found in the lifeless archives of public transactions, but it would be a poor historian who put down merely what had been authorized by law, without breathing into it that life which the people of the time lived, and thus attempting to show the motives for the results we see, and as we know them, today.

The eagerness to build a railroad had become more than an ambition, it was now a race, in which were pitted against



ST. PAUL'S PAROCHIAL SCHOOL

In 1849, on Jan. 15, there was passed an amendment to the act of February 11, 1843; the amendment authorized a railroad to be built in LaPorte county, provided the road shall be merged in the Buffalo and Mississippi when the latter reached LaPorte. On January 17, the Ohio, Indiana and Lake Michigan Railroad company was incorporated, to run from Benton, Ohio, to LaPorte via Fort Wayne, (to connect with the Buffalo and Mississippi). Chauncey B. Blair, Andrew L. Osborn, Henry Lusk and Ezeeach other, on the one hand two cities on the lake, and on the other two cities in Indiana. Michigan City was a contestant in both cases; its competitor on the Lake Michigan being Chicago, and that within the state being LaPorte. The citizens of Chicago had long ago grasped the value of a steam road and had foreseen the advantage of that means of transportation over the once popular canal; they encouraged the entrance of the Illinois Central into the city, yet a north and south road was not, they saw, the

surest method of attracting migration thither; but by obtaining the Illinois Central which promised to give outlet toward the Mississippi, they, for the time being at least, blocked the reward that would have attended the Buffalo and Mississippi, had that road been constructed, as had originally been the intention, from Toledo or from some other eastern point, directly through Indiana southwest toward St. Louis on the Mississippi, thus leaving Chicago an insignificant station off the main line of traffic. When once this Illinois Central railroad became an actual fact there remained only the gap between New Buffalo and Chicago to be filled, and then Chicago would lie on the main traveled road from the east to the west and the vast Mississippi region beyond.

In this first contest Michigan City lost. Her citizens had been misled by the promises of the government to build the harbor, but more attention had in this respect been given to the port of Chicago, with the result that financiers and men with money to invest became more attracted toward the Illinois city, than toward that in Indiana. This contest was decided in favor of Chicago, which, from 1837 on, was recognized as the future center for the commerce of the lakes and the Mississippi valley.

But the second, and more local contest, fought out in the months between 1848 and 1852, was for the privilege of securing the importance that would attach to that city which should be the principal Indiana station for this through east and west commerce.

It has already been noticed that the Michigan Central railroad had reached New Buffalo in May, 1849; but the Michigan Southern railroad had not been idle, and on January 8, 1852, LaPorte was reached by the first train over that route from South Bend. The earlier plans to push directly toward the southwest had been abandoned, but there was still the desire to reach Chicago, and to satisfy this desire there were several unused but unexpired charters; the two competitors, the Michigan Southern through LaPorte and the Michigan Central through New Buffalo which could mean nothing else than through Michigan City, entered in 1850 into a struggle in which brains were pitted against brains, and subtlety of argument exactly balanced craftiness in politics. By all legal and natural rights, the route of travel should be through Michigan City both from New Buffalo and from LaPorte, because Michigan City, being the only Indiana port on Lake Michigan, would thus conserve at one point the north and south traffic, with that crossing it from east and west. But LaPorte was envious of the growing importance of her neighbor and was willing to shut her eyes if, even by a process not quite within authority, a road could be built from her border direct into Chicago without passing through Michigan City.

The Buffalo and Mississippi had been incorporated in 1835, and in 1846 a change in its charter authorized it to pass to Chicago, through Michigan City; at this date nearly or quite half of the capital stock was owned by residents of Michigan City, but, to aid in the reorganization of the company, this had been donated and the road was leased to the Michigan Southern. The name had then been changed in 1837 to the Northern Indiana. This twisted and amended charter the Michigan Southern seized and used for its own purposes to reach Chicago away from any lake connection, in spite of the protests of the citizens of Michigan City, who showed how the charter and good faith were being violated, petitioning the legislature not to legalize the change, adding that "there is no other town in Indiana on the lake, and a good commercial town will grow

up here if it is properly and reasonably protected, but that our citizens have struggled against adversity for a long time." By building and improving the harbor they insisted that they had a right to ask justice, and "we ask that we may not be forgotten and abandoned in the contest," which was then going on between several railroads over the question of a route.

Their rational request was, however, of no avail, and the Michigan Southern, to the delight of the citizens of LaPorte, rushed construction westward away from Michigan City, so that on February 20, 1852, the first train reached Chicago from Toledo by the LaPorte route.

The people of Michigan City, however, were not cast down or discouraged for more than the moment. When they saw that their rival presumed to claim that they were defeated, they went gallantly to work on another project. The city council granted the Michigan Central the right to lay tracks on certain (not all) streets of the city. They had petitioned the legislature to compel the Northern Indiana to come to the shores of Lake Michigan, they had invoked the aid of the governor, of the state's attorney and of the prosecuting attorney, and had willingly met the cost of $1000.00 for this assertion of their rights; but now they would act for themselves. They were determined to overcome the apparent gains of the Michigan Southern, and to help the Michigan Central; they refused to acknowledge the claims of the Southern that it had the exclusive right to enter Chicago around the head of Lake Michigan, and that other lines must use its roadbed from the Indian boundary, and they set their wits to work to accomplish their end. Chicago was with them because she felt that Michigan City had been unjustly treated, and because the more roads the more traffic, and Senator Douglas used the force of his logic to support them. This same Buffalo and Mississippi still had power to construct a line from Michigan City eastward to the Michigan state boundary, and the people of Michigan City still had influence, because, in 1851, John R. Barnes and George Ames of Michigan City had been added to the list of newer incorporators of the now existing Northern Indiana railroad, so that the arrangement completed in 1849 by which the Michigan Central railroad, on the old charter, might build from New Buffalo to Michigan City, could be and was enforced. Thus in 1852, the Michigan Central railroad entered Michigan City on its own tracks. There remained only a short interval between Michigan City and Chicago, after the Michigan Central in 1851 had purchased its right of way through Michigan City. Of all the charters so freely passed by the early legislatures before the panic of 1837, almost the oldest was the nearly forgotten New Albany and Salem of 1832, which yet had existence and allowed nearly any construction in northern Indiana. This charter was used by the Michigan Central and its allies to carry them over some nearly abandoned grading, as far as Kensington; here they met the main line of the Illinois Central with which a contract was signed to permit the entrance of trains from the Michigan Central; and finally, on May 21, 1852, only three months after the supposed victory of the LaPorte people, connection from Detroit and the east through Michigan City became an accomplished fact.

The rivalry did not cease then, however, nor for years after; the railroads rather encouraged it, and pretended to forget each other's existence, but a fearful accident due to carelessness, on April 25, 1853, at Grand Crossing, in which trains on the Michigan Southern and Michigan Central crashed together with the destruction of 18 passengers and the

injury of 50 others, compelled a legal recognition of each other's rights and responsibilities. For years this competition was maintained, however, till Cornelius Vanderbilt, the owner of both, consolidated the two in 1869.

Several little incidents must be noticed here, as indicative of the character of the time. After the Michigan Southern had acquired and was using its right of way over the old Buffalo and Mississippi road from Chicago to Michigan City, there were a few weeks during which passengers were obliged either to go on to New Buffalo to meet the rival road, or to take stage across to LaPorte. This feature of travel was overcome as soon as the Michigan Southern completed its track around Michigan City, but while it lasted the firm of Sprague and Teall carried passengers in their stages through the woods, the east bound travelers staying for the night at LaPorte, and those west bound at Michigan City. In those days too, they had first and second class passenger coaches, as such were advertised from Chicago in the Transcript of 1854.

It is regrettable that we cannot find out the exact date on which the first train from New Buffalo entered Michigan City, but no record of it has been kept. Neither are we sure how much of the original construction of the New Albany and Salem railroad was used by the Michigan Central in its rush to Chicago. It is known that the tracks of the Michigan Southern (and Northern Indiana) railroad ran along Wabash street, but after that road made its cut, across from LaPorte, these tracks were abandoned.

It is a curious tradition that, on July 4, 1837, nine years after the first spike on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was driven in Baltimore, Daniel Webster stood at the foot of Hoosier Slide and predicted the growth of Michigan City, when the first dirt was turned on the Wabash street roadbed.

Of the numerous charters and corporations which contained the names of Michigan City in their titles or were authorized to have a terminal point on Lake Michigan, not many survived. A few were used but only to serve as the foundation for other lines in the construction of which, after the great triumph of the Michigan Central, the original purpose was lost.

These beginning days of railroad life in Michigan City somewhat severed the bond that attached the pioneers to Indiana. Business began to flow east and west rather than north and south, while the rest of the state remained unconnected with the lake port. It was the natural consequence of rapid transit, which we must remember is nothing new, for even in 1849, in England a train had attained 78 miles an hour, and we must not forget that for all the seeming crudity of the first engines and cars in the United States, speed, hitherto unattainable, was developed. J. C. Showerman, an old time Michigan Central telegrapher, tells that even when the engines burned wood and were pigmies compared with the leviathans of today, they made the schedule from Chicago to Detroit in seven hours and fifteen minutes, in spite of light rails and crooked tracks. Moreover, the telegraph had arrived in 1847, as on July 20 of that year the council had granted permission to the Erie and Michigan Telegraph company to string its wires into the city, and with this adjunct business along the railroad naturally increased.

The south railroads were not slow in coming. Another road the objective point of which was Michigan City, was the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago railroad. It had been deflected toward Chicago at Monon, and consequently received that name, "The Monon Route," as a shorter title, but its real purpose was

to reach Lake Michigan within Indiana territory. This it finally accomplished in 1853, shortly after the Michigan Central ran trains. This New Albany and Salem had at that time the longest stretch of straight track in the country, running seventy miles without a curve. Its name was changed in 1897 to the Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville railroad and in 1902 it passed under the control of the Louisville and Nashville and Southern Railway systems, but the abbreviated Monon will always be the popular sobriquet.

The old Cincinnati, Louisville and Chicago, later the Indianapolis, Peru and Chicago railroad, was headed for Michigan City, and the section between La-Porte and Plymouth was built in 1858, other sections being added at irregular intervals, but it was not till 1871 that the road as we know it now finally reached its terminal point at the head of Lake Michigan. It was at first under independent management, then it came into the control of other holders. The name was changed to the Lake Erie and Western in 1887 and today it is still known by that name, although owned and managed since 1900 as part of the great Vanderbilt system, the New York Central lines, by the Lake Shore railroad.

Connection with the north was for many years made over the Michigan Central through New Buffalo, but in 1899 the Pere Marquette railroad was organized as a consolidation of the Flint and Pere Marquette railroad, the Chicago and West Michigan and others and in 1903 with the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton railroad. The first independent train on this new system, reached Michigan City on December 15, 1903.

TRINITY CATHEDRAL

Michigan City is on two electric trac-

tion lines, in addition to having a city electric street car system that traverses Franklin street its entire length and also extends to the state prison and to Eastport. The first car was run April 18, 1881. Mule and horse power were originally used on the street cars, but with the advent of electricity as a motive power it was adopted, in 1891, by the Lake Cities' Electric Co., which also owned the power station that furnished the city street lighting. In 1903 the Chicago and South Shore Railway Company completed the construction of an interurban line from LaPorte to Michigan City, the first car being run from LaPorte to Michigan City on Jan. 31, 1903. Two years later the road and also the city system came into possession of the Northern Indiana Railway Company, which owned the interurban lines connecting South Bend, Elkhart, Gashen and Mishawaka, and in the winter of 1907 the interurban line to LaPorte and the city system were purchased with the remainder of the Northern Indiana Railway Company's property by the Murdock-Dietrich syndicate, which during the year 1908 will complete the construction of a line between LaPorte and South Bend that will enable the running of through cars from Michigan City to Warsaw. The company was renamed the Chicago, South Bend and Northern Indiana Railway Company. At this writing (1907) the Chicago, Lake Shore and South Bend Railway Company, owned by the Hanna syndicate of Cleveland, is pushing the construction of an interurban line that will connect South Bend with Chicago and will pass through Baltimore street, Michigan City. Cars will be running on this road in 1908. Michigan City will be the main point on the line, an immense power house, car barns, repair shops, ets., being now under construction, the estimated cost thereof being half a million dollars.

Today (1907) the Michigan Central operates every day regularly twelve passenger and ten freight train each way; the 'Monon' two passenger and two freight trains; the Lake Erie and Western three passenger and two freight trains, and the Pere Marquette four passenger and two freight trains.

All trains stop at Michigan City, because it is either the terminus or the division point of every system.

Michigan City has daily steamer service during the summer season between this port and Chicago. The Indiana Transportation Company, composed chiefly of Michigan City capitalists, owns and operates two large fine steamers, the Theodore Roosevelt and the Soo City. Passengers and freight are handled. A fleet of merchant vessels, belonging to various companies, carry lumber, salt, coal and various other products.

CHAPTER XIII.

Trade, Business and Finance.

The French were the first traders at the head of Lake Michigan. Englishmen did not penetrate into this region west of the Alleghenies for the purpose of trade until 1749, although a few wandering explorers may have passed through here. It was La Salle with his dream of colonizing the Mississippi Valley who sent the earliest traders hither for the purpose of exchanging manufactured goods for the furs and skins of the Indians. These French pioneers knew Green Bay, the region between the Calumet and the Kankakee, but they were nomads and have left scarcely a name or trace behind. La Taupine, Rene le Gardeur and others knew of the woods and prairies around LaPorte, and it is recorded that long before 1793 Indians from here traded with such posts as Vincennes and Detroit, for goods and whisky. The English introduced the whisky traffic to the Indians, but the French were not slow to learn; the earliest criminal prosecutions in the courts of LaPorte county were for selling whisky to the Indians, and their wise men felt the degrading consequences, appealing but not always with success, to good folk like the Quakers to uphold the Indians and to help enforce the laws. From the time of the first settlement near Chicago, in 1803, when Fort Dearborn was made, there was a well known and established commerce over the adjacent territory, including Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, but it was carried on only by trappers and hunters, who made such posts as South Bend or Chicago their headquarters, where the American Fur Company, established by John Jacob Astor, was ready for business. Farmers near Lake Michigan took advantage of this value of skins to help pay for their land or to use them for barter.

In 1829 a trading post at Hudson lake was in existence, and one in 1830 at Door Village. Michigan City's site had little to attract the trader, and a keener judgment than that of simple fur dealers was needed to perceive that here must center a larger traffic and a productive industry. Peltries were capital as much as they were clothing, and that was all. A new and a different incentive was necessary to bring permanent life to the spot, and this came soon after the first survey and location of the Michigan Road.

"In 1832," according to Abiezer Jessup, "he thought it might have been as early as June, word was brought to his father and other settlers at the Door (village) that help was desired in erecting a log house at Michigan City. A number of men went over on the day fixed. The following Sunday Abiezer and two or three other boys of the Door neighborhood, led by curiosity to see Michigan City and the mouth of the Dishmaugh, as it was then called, took horses and rode up there, getting lost in the pathless timber on the way. Finally arriving, they found only one house there—the cabin just raised and not yet ready for occupancy, near the creek. It belonged to Joseph C. Orr, who, with his family and Samuel Miller, had a rough temporary camp close to the house. Mr. Jessup did not locate the house or say how many composed the family. While

the boys were looking about the site of the proposed city ,a band of Indians arrived in canoes from the St. Joseph and landed on the beach at the base of Hoosier Slide. The boys, fearing the Indians, at once mounted and started for home, leaving the Orr family to whatever fate might befall them." Mr. Jessup did not again see the place that year nor until the next year, 1833, when there was quite a settlement. He died at LaPorte in August, 1907.

This anecdote from an eye witness shows that the city began as a city; that whatever trade and barter had taken place about the head of Lake Michigan, was accidental or incidental, leading to nothing definite. There had been hitherto no money in the neighborhood, peltries being the only medium of exchange, and Trail Creek had been only a name, but with the coming of Elston, Miller and Orr a genuine settlement was started, the purpose of which was business and commerce and the founding of a city.

Scarcely had this start been undertaken when effort was made to meet two wants. The first was for the accommodation of those traveling through the spot on their way east or west, north or south, and who desired or were compelled to pass the night at the foot of Hoosier Slide. This want was rather easily satisfied by any one possessing a roof to cover the head. Joseph C. Orr turned his house into a tavern, offering rest and refreshment to any one willing to partake of his rude sincere hospitality. To sleep on the floor, to eat fresh or jerked meat, and to drink clear water redeemed by a drop or so of whisky, was no hardship in those days, for these travelers were not sightseers nor tourists, but came west for a more serious purpose. These taverns grew in number and changed rapidly into more imposing hotels, but nearly every settler kept open house. Thus in August, 1833, Jacob Furman and B. F. Bryant built a log cabin on what is now known as Peck's Corner. Licenses to vend merchandise and to keep tavern were issued by the county commissioners at this date, 1833, which cost $15.00, while to sell groceries the tax was only $10.00, but the groceries were often wet goods and the merchandise might usually be portable in bottles. The Michigan Road was building, a fact which attracted both traders and settlers, so that it was difficult to gratify all comers without the adjuncts of a tavern. Two hotels were put up in 1834 when the population was already 715. The first, situated near the harbor, by Lofland and Taylor, the other by Samuel Olinger and Thompson Francis. Then came the Stockton House built by Hiram Inman on Pine street; and before the close of 1836, the Mansion House, City Hotel, Exchange (on Sherman's corner), Farmers' Hotel, Washington House, Lake House, and the Western Hotel which stood out near where the State Prison is at present. The hotels were all full, the guests being either actual or intending settlers, so that three thousand persons lived within Michigan City by 1835.

The second want which the very first residents and house owners determined to meet, was that for mills. Flour was a necessity; wheat was selling for twenty-five up to fifty cents a bushel, but it was ground in the crudest way, often as the Indians did it, between two stones, and flour cost $10.00 a barrel. Near LaPorte was a flour mill, but that was then a decidedly long distance away, reached only over old Indian paths. In 1834 John Walker, a large owner of timber lands in LaPorte county, built a saw mill at the site of the present Roeske mill, but it was soon after changed to a grist mill and is today called the Eureka, although old residents know it still as Scott's mill,

after James M. Scott, who bought the property of Walker in 1835.

Another kind of mill was also sadly needed to supply the increasing demand for lumber with which to build the houses for settlers. Lumber had been and was brought into the city by vessels on Lake Michigan, but the thick woods of Michigan township offered all the timber to anyone able to cut it. The above mentioned John Walker of LaPorte erected this first mill (1834), although not within the present corporate limits of Michigan City, and the nearest water mill was really built in 1832 in Springfield township, on the north branch of Trail Creek, by Charles Vail, who had been born in New Jersey in 1803, and under his father and mother, Isaac and Sarah, had been brought up as a baker. The Andrew mill at Camp Colfax, LaPorte, was built in 1832. As a matter of fact in these early days there was no saw nor grist mill within the corporate limits of Michigan City, and it was not until comparatively recent times that the city itself had such manufactories.

Another industry to take immediate root in the city was that of tanning. Leather came from the skins of the animals so plentiful in the virgin woods roundabout, and bark was supplied by the trees at the door. Joseph C. Orr started the first tannery in 1834, actually within Michigan City, and he spent his time alternately between his tannery and his tavern. Debre Brothers were early tanners in the city, and Abbott, Bour & Company added to that business. The first one was located in what is now the very center of the business section. Much later was established the industry which gave Tannery Hill its present name.

The first trade was naturally that of the carpenter. Backwoodsmen could build a log cabin, but technical training was necessary for the construction of a house; so Thompson W. Francis came in 1833 to Michigan City, and after investigating the possibilities of other nearby towns (LaPorte and St. Joseph), he located permanently for carpenter work here. At Waterford, practically a part of Michigan City, there was another carpenter named N. W. Blackman who helped at the growing town in its first year.

Brickmaking was another industry that at once became active and a man named Kellogg was the first to burn brick within the city, having his yard near the second turn of the creek.

Everyone possessing technical skill was eagerly sought, and in fact a man willing to work was welcome. Peck's Guide to Emigrants for 1835 states that "All kinds of mechanical labor, especially in the building line, are in great demand; even very coarse and common workmen get almost any price they ask. Journeymen mechanics get $2.00 per day. A carpenter or brick mason wants no other capital, to do first rate business, and soon become independent, than a set of tools and habits of industry, sobriety, decorum and enterprise."

But the great attraction which so rapidly turned the silent sandy shores of Lake Michigan into a hustling market, was trade. The first man to begin a real business in Michigan City was Samuel Miller, who came here in 1832, started a commission store in 1833 and built the first warehouse. He was a forwarder, taking grain, provisions and produce from all the neighbors who had to sell, and obtaining his supply of goods from vessels plying the lakes. Shortly after him came Samuel Flint and George W. Selkirk. In 1834 William Teall, David Sprague and James Forrester reached the city and built the second warehouse and others built warehouses later. Others who

chose Michigan City as the place for their activities were Daniel Brown and Jacob Haas, George Ames and Leonard Woods, in 1834; M. Romel, a native of Germany; Simon Ritter from Seneca county, New York; Deacon W. Peck, from New York; W. W. Higgins, from Connecticut; Judge Woodward, a justice of the peace and the second postmaster; Hiram and Richard Inman; Jacob Bigelow, David Burr, Benjamin James, W. Moody, Allen James, Robert Stewart, Samuel Weston, and Chauncey B. Blair, in 1835. No record can be given of the exact dates on which many of the prominent merchants of the time arrived, so quickly did they come, and so immediately did they begin business.

What is equally, perhaps more, to the point, is the character and the amount of the business they did. William Teall, in thirteen months of work, is said to have done $13,000.00 worth of business, and the total trade in June, 1835, amounted to $400,000.00. In 1836 Offley W. Leeds reached Michigan City. James Forrester brought a cargo of salt on the schooner "Post Boy," the first shipment of the kind. C. B. Blair had by this time built a pier in addition to his warehouse which stood on it, and the others were near this, so as to be close to the boats as they arrived from the lake. Steamers—the Ward, Champion, George Dole and others—made regular trips on Lake Michigan, and forwarding from here extended throughout northern Indiana. Michigan City thus became in return the great grain center for all the adjacent section, and wheat was brought hither from as far south as Marion county. Not only was the forwarding trade growing, but the city prospered as a retail market. At the end of 1836 there were twelve dry goods stores, and outfitting for settlers and travelers was a goodly part of any business. There was the hardware store of George and Fisher Ames, and a stove, tin and iron store, established by Reynolds Couden. One of the best stores was kept by the cousins, Jacob Carter and John Barker, who had arrived from Ohio in the spring of 1836.

Then came the panic of 1837. According to all narratives of this episode in United States history, it was the severest financial catastrophe since the dark days of our revolutionary war, but it fell with particular mercilessness upon the middle west, embracing Michigan, Illinois and Indiana, because, in addition to the change in banking methods which precipitated it, and on top of the inflated structure of these states who had given unwarranted support to a system of internal improvements and could not therefore stand the strain of tight money in the east, came an unprecedented drought over farm and pasture, so that crops were blighted and cattle died, and there was nothing to sell even had there been a market.

After the year 1830 railroad building had intensified land speculation into a craze, and further harm had been done in 1833 by President Jackson's violent distribution of the public deposits. In 1837 banks suspended all over the country, thousands of families were ruined, and laborers were deprived of work. No wonder that Michigan City, a boom town, resting undoubtedly upon a firm foundation but not yet possessing within herself a permanent energy, suffered with the rest. A forecast of this distress may be noticed in the conduct of Hiram Wheeler, who had just started a business in Michigan City. In 1836 he removed to St. Joseph, Michigan, saying that "Michigan City was a dead town;" but it is not likely that he found any more animation across the Michigan border. Another indication of the prostration of business in all industries, is found in the testimony of Sylvester Marsh, before the

United States Senate in 1883. He tells of the immense activity in 1833 to 1837, during which period he had been down to the Wabash country for sheep and hogs; he had been paying high prices for meat up to that time, but in 1838 he bought 100 pounds of pork for $6.00, and wheat had been sold in Chicago as low as twenty-five cents a bushel. Another instance of misfortune is found in an advertisement appearing in the La-Porte Herald January 11, 1839, to the effect that Abraham R. Lyston, having been in business (general merchandise) at Michigan City, wished to sell out. It is also stated that Sleight & Moore *formerly* had a store at Michigan City and in 1839 the Michigan City Gazette suspended for the second time

However great was the hardship, it cannot be denied that this crisis had a wholesome effect upon Michigan City. Those who were attempting to get rich from speculation alone, failed to do so and disappeared from sight and knowledge; those who on the other hand had an unfaltering faith in the future of the place, soon found that there was a sturdier prosperity than that which rests upon fancy prices, or depends upon state aid alone for internal improvements and such encouragement to industry. When all the unstable fortunes had been swept away, there still remained the land, the grain and cattle, and the real energy of those who were determined to improve the natural resources. The harbor was beginning and the government had not yet shown that apathy which a few years later discouraged some citizens but incited others to undertake a harbor construction of their own.

Business men like the following still survived: C. B. and L. Blair, J. and C. Hitchcock, Sleight & Gould, B. Folsom, Wm. S. Clark, W. H. Goodhue and Jas. McAdoo as commission merchants, (who represented Rochester, N. Y., merchants) and Viele and Brother on Ames' corner; Fisher Ames, Harvey Truesdale, Cole and Willys Peck, George Ames, E. S. Holliday and John Barker, whose partner had retired in 1839.

Real farming did not cease on account of the panic, so that from 1837 to 1844 Michigan City was the principal grain market for northern Indiana, and produce came in from even the southern parts of the state.

Yet speculation did not entirely end, even if the land bubble had burst. We need not assume that only in our generation has a cornered market been the ambition of the business man. In 1839 a famous case of the kind aroused excitement in Michigan City when an effort was made to control the supply of salt. There was no telegraph then, and this necessary commodity came slowly to market; the price was raised to $4.00 a barrel when indignant residents threatened violence and a law suit, till the monopoly was broken.

The merchants bravely tried to pay cash for produce, and even advertised the fact, J. G. Sleight on Front street offering on October 5, 1839, to purchase wheat at seventy-five cents a bushel. While this was going on, land was changing hands, sometimes under forced sheriff's sale, as in 1839 lots in Orr's subdivision were so disposed of, and Jos. C. Orr lost 960 acres of good land near Michigan City by going security for others, a misfortune which drove him to newer fields in Wisconsin, where he finished his life.

Slowly but surely, out of this chaos of unsubstantial hopes, the genuine Michigan City arose. From 1840 onwards, business settled into better channels. Merchandising was not the only industry, for the city began to produce. In 1840 a cooper shop was established by Robert Curran, an Irishman, who was a restless soul, capable, of seeing a demand

but not able to resist the excitement of being on the move. In 1849, he caught the California gold fever and moved westward, to make a small fortune and to return in 1868 to a farm in Waterford. Other coopers were D. L. Jackson, and Eli Smith.

The lake traffic increased, and this larger sort of commerce was added to the simpler trade or more systematic business of former years. At one time Michigan City was seriously threatened with a strangling monopoly of such traffic, but in 1842 a new steamboat, the "Daniel Webster," refused to become part of the combination of other boats, and the "extortionate and ruinous prices" were not enforced. One good effect of this, had the law been changed, would have been to stop the custom of the day to report the productions of northern Indiana as "exports of Chicago," and to give Michigan City her proper rating. This was a wise move, because production now increased rapidly, but the selfishness of Chicago overcame their honesty, so that from that port was registered the output of contiguous shipping points, and even today the shipments to and from Michigan City are listed in the Chicago custom house as Chicago commerce.

There was now much barrel making in the city to supply not only the demand in Chicago, but also that for home use, as beef and pork packing was an increasing industry, while the annual catch of fish in the local waters was a noticeable factor in commerce. It is reported that Lyman Blair's output of fish for one year was as high as $40,000.00, probably one of the best records on the lakes. Lumber, too, became a decidedly important article of commerce.

As cargo for the vessels bringing into the harbor lumber and supplies from the north and eastern ports, for it must be remembered that as yet the railroads were not built and practically everything came by water, there was a growing export commerce in corn, wheat, pork and beef; $500,000.00 was shipped from Michigan City yearly, besides the live cattle and horses driven to Chicago or Detroit. In 1846 congress established a new port of entry at Chicago, so that from now on an international trade could be conducted, but unfortunately all records of this were and are kept in Chicago, as has been said.

Another industry at this time natural to the place, and one able to hold its own against eastern producers, was the manufacture of shoes and heavy boots for the neighborhood. For miles around farmers and settlers came to Michigan City to purchase these necessary articles and Addison J. Phillips with his son employed in 1846 over forty workmen at the cobbler's bench, while other enterprising men of the period had factories only less in size.

The population, after the panic of 1837, had declined materially, but from 1840 when it was probably under a thousand, it rose slowly, partly by absorption of migration from the east, but to some extent also by foreigners, who were attracted by the advantages of the place. The Germans formed a large portion of these new settlers and by their thrift and activity added much to the business and commerce. The older hotels still remaining after the flush years to 1836, now found newer rivals in the Franklin House, the Genesee House and the Jewell House, where the Vreeland Hotel now is. The Lake House, which had become the Michigan City Institute, was removed from the corner of Franklin and Boston streets, and became again a hotel kept by Ainsworth and Jewell. There was also the United States Hotel of which Mr. Jewell had been the manager.

The Indiana Gazetteer for 1849 gives

in Michigan City nine dry goods stores, only one drug store, seven grocery and provision stores, besides the warehouses in which the grain was stored. This would account for a population of about 1500. But the panic and hard times had been survived, the city, unlike hundreds of others built on paper and sold by auction to crazed speculators east or west, had found a stable existence and Northern Indiana had become a region of

For the three intervening years to 1852, there was scarcely any growth and the merchants could do nothing more than hold their own. In many ways Chicago was still but a mere neighbor whose genuine attractions were inferior to the Indiana city. We can read in the life of Leland Stanford, who then was seeking a home in the West, that he was disgusted with Chicago's swampy site and her mosquitoes, and would not stay there.

THE GARFIELD SCHOOL

farms, of steady commerce and of homes.

Among the owners of these surviving business places were, Offley W. Leeds, Chauncey B. and Lyman Blair, E. Folsom, Charles E. and J. E. DeWolfe, George and Fisher Ames, Willys Peck, John Barker, J. G. Sleight, Samuel Miller, Thompson W. Francis, U. C. Follet, Reynolds Couden, W. H. Goodhue, E. S. Holliday, Leonard Woods, W. R. Godfrey, J. M. Hitchcock and Thomas Jernegan.

His retreat further west explains one reason why this whole region remained quiet. Pioneers were excited by Oregon and in 1846 to 1850 took place the great movement westward toward this territory. Then again the gold fever was beginning, and hundreds who otherwise would have been drawn to the lakes, were hurrying across the continent or through the Isthmus of Panama toward California. Nobody knew just what the future was to be, but those who had determined upon permanent lodgment at

the foot of Hoosier Slide used all their energies to bring hither the railroads.

With the advent of the railroads much of the prior carrying trade of the city became extinct. Warehouses at the mouth of Trail Creek disappeared, because the vessels that carried grain to Buffalo were displaced by the more rapid train; the wagons loaded with produce from as far as the Wabash no longer were seen on the streets and the processions of them plowing their way between the sand dunes soon became only a matter of gossip. As the harbor work had been neglected by the government it would seem that the railroad at first did more harm than good. At this time the business of the place was confined to a small area; no stores reached farther south than Michigan Street, which, with Franklin Street, contained all there was. Front Street, which had till then been an active business thoroughfare, was given up to the railroad. The extent of territory occupied by residences was also small, lying between Washington Street on the west, and Spring Street and the Michigan Road on the east, with Sixth Street as the southern boundary. It may be questioned whether, in 1852, Michigan City had more than twelve hundred inhabitants.

But what was lost in trade, and every city must expect such changes in its activities, it gained in a more permanent direction, because the railroad brought into existence the era of manufacturing. With the building of the Monon came the establishment of the car factory, which will be described in detail in another chapter. Michigan City thus changed from an intermediate shipping point to a recognized producing center, and began to rank as one of the foremost places in Indiana. It had been hoped that the Michigan Central would locate the main shops of the road here, but while it made here a division point on the way to Chicago, and still maintains the original repair shops of 1852 which give occupation to many, the main shops were retained within the state of Michigan.

A good start seemed to have been made in 1853, but the panic of 1857 swept over the country, involving the middle west and Michigan City as well. Banks in Philadelphia and New York suspended and all lines of business were disastrously affected, but by 1858 the worst was reached and for a short time prosperity again blessed the country. At the date of greatest depression the state of Indiana decided to locate in Michigan City the Northern Prison, and this addition increased the resources of the city even if it did not at once increase its prestige. Shortly after this came the civil war, and a fair estimate would admit of a population of 2,500 at that time. Michigan City was not injured but only delayed by the crisis; business, which at first was threatened by disaster, was really increased by the prison and by the activity at the car shops stimulated by the war. For some years, however, apart from the railroads, the car works and the local businesses which already were engaged in handling the long established local or general commerce of the neighborhood, it was the prison to which should be credited the greater share in Michigan City's growth.

The first recorded contractors to take advantage of prison labor were the members of the firm of Haywood & DeWolfe, who, in 1863, agreed to take the work of the 202 convicts—the total number at that date—for employment in a cooper shop to be established within prison walls. The next recorded contract for convict labor was made by the firm of Jones & Chapin on July 10, 1864; this was continued by them till 1870, when the name of J. H. Winterbotham

was added to theirs, the firm finally becoming J. H. Winterbotham & Sons, and remaining in connection with the prison for many years.

On November 1, 1868, the firm of Ford & Johnson signed their first contract with the prison for the manufacture of chairs. This firm, which finally became and is now known as the Ford & Johnson Company, has been continuously connected with the prison until the year 1904, when the new law went into effect, and they decided to depend for labor upon the usual free market. Kumler & Melcher had a cigar contract in 1874, but failed in 1876 and were relieved by H. H. Walker, who worked out the contract. J. G. Mott began in 1878 with his contract for 100 men in his wire and agricultural implement plant, and has used such labor continuously. The Reliance Manufacturing Company, making shirts and overalls, are the last of the Michigan City industries to grow up out of prison labor, and their contract dates from 1899, and will expire in 1910, according to the present system.

Some of the industries which have come and gone should be noted, as their existence is an integral part of history. In 1884 J. and Edward Dolman had a flour and feed mill on the Michigan Road at the edge of the city, but it disappeared long ago. There was at one time a buggy and carriage bottom factory connected with Winterbotham's prison contracts, managed by W. B. McCartney, from Columbus, Ohio, but that soon ceased. In 1883 a glass factory was established here, but it failed the next year. Innumerable other businesses flourished or decayed, but those which have lasted and must be mentioned in detail, growing as they did because of the city, yet without having association with the prison, are the American Pressed Brick Company, the Michigan City Ice and Cold Storage Company, the Philip Zorn Brewery, the Smith (Alaska) Refrigerator and Manufacturing Company, the J. B. Thompson Company, the United States Brick Corporation, the Western Launch and Engine Works, the Greer-Wilkinson Lumber Company, the Sash and Door Company.

Such were the beginnings of Michigan City's splendid industrial development. The car factory, brought by the advent of the railroad, has ever since been the leading enterprise of the place. The location of the prison was a very great advantage, for out of it grew a large number of great and prosperous factories. And the imports of lumber, added to the working up of the native timber, brought woodworking industries of large proportions. Out of the neighboring sand, clay and marl will come the factories of the future to contribute to the city's greatness, and its propinquity to the ever-widening Chicago territory will also attract many future enterprises to this place, where rails and water meet.

Finance.

The charter of the State Bank of Indiana, approved on the 28th of January, 1834, made, according to Hugh McCulloch, one of the most honest and well regulated institutions the world has ever seen. Its active life was to run to January 1, 1857, but it was allowed two years more, that is to January 1, 1859, to close up its affairs and retire from business. This bank was intentionally a monopoly, permitting no competition from private banks, but it was managed quite as much in the interests of the people of the state as of its own stockholders. The central organization was in Indianapolis, although the capital had no bank of itself, but the charter made provision for thirteen branches, of each of which the state was to own one-half the stock of $160,000.00, the other half

being carefully distributed among responsible local business men.

Michigan City became eligible to the thirteenth branch, which was established here in February, 1839. The state had then paid its second instalment of capital stock in advance, in order to furnish additional aid to the purchasers of wheat which was the great staple of the northern part of the state. Its first officers were William Clark, President, with a salary of $800.00, D. G. Collamer, Cashier, $1300.00, Samuel Gordon, Teller and Clerk, with $600.00 a year.

The city had, on December 21, 1838, passed an ordinance granting to the branch of the state bank the use of certain grounds, and it soon occupied a substantial brick building on the southeast corner of Washington and Front streets, but a short distance south of the present Michigan Central station.

The directors elected at the stockholders meeting held in November, 1839, were as follows: Joseph Orr, Jacob Early, Ezekiel Morrison, Hiram Wheeler, Amzi Clark, John B. Niles, Jeremiah Hitchcock and A. P. Andrew, Jr.

The first report of this Michigan City branch, rendered on Friday, November 16, 1839, reads thus:

Dr.	
Loans on notes and personal security	$178,212.36
State and Branch banking houses	2,484.33
Furniture and Fixtures	580.57
Expenses, sinking fund and protest fees	32.00
Deposits in other banks	202.91
Cash	140,648.50
	$322,176.72
Cr.	
Capital stock, state $45,000, individuals, $40,000	$ 85,000.00
iscounts and exchange	308.22
Profit and loss	5,812.49
Branch banks	33,?45.59
Other banks	3,-33.10
Circulation	169,800.00
Individual deposits	24,777.32
	$322,176.72

If the State Bank met the approval of trained bankers, it did not always find favor with depositors or with those who understood little of banking methods; it was a time of fierce speculation, of land booms exploded or yet inflated, of paper money, and "accommodation" did not always mean the same thing to those on opposite side of the teller's window. Troubles had begun very soon. Thus, on December 14, 1839, a man gave publicity to his complaint that the Michigan City bank had refused to pay a depositor his money in the identical bills deposited or in specie, as agreed at the time of deposit, and in describing his trouble he calls the cashier "a hump-backed, bandy-legged, baboon-faced looking animal, who made his appearance from a back room or cage, a cigar protruding from his face, his hands and arms crowded into his breeches pockets above his elbows, and, puffing like a young bellows, strutting and making an effort to imitate some human puffing being."

Again, on December 21, 1839, was a criticism launched, this time by The Herald, which said that "many people in the county believe the bank to be a mere shaving shop, that it is an oppressive monopoly, that the funds of the bank, notwithstanding a portion of them belong to the state, have been lavished upon a few shaving, monopolizing speculators, regardless of the necessities, wants and applications of many of the most deserving and substantial farmers in the county." Charges were repeated that salt, beef and pork were cornered by the stockholders, which might account for the semi-annual dividend of four per cent.

The same Herald, on February 4, 1840, asserts that "the stockholders have already borrowed more than their stock allowed, and are liable, with the directors, for more than double the total amount of all the private stock"—which

is really an accusation of peculation but the officers of the main bank at Indianapolis did not think so, although they did reprimand these local directors for indiscretion.

Later, on July 18, 1840, The Herald has another scolding in these terms: "There has recently been much turning and twisting about the Federal shaving shop, as we are informed. Mr. Collamer, the Cashier, has resigned; and A. P. Andrew, Jr., the editor of the LaPorte Whig, is his successor. Five individuals, we are informed, have purchased nearly all the individual stock of the bank. Daniel Brown, the Federal candidate for representative of this county, is one of the five owners of the rotten, aristocratic, insolent shaving shop. He is one of the directors, we are told. Will the freemen of this county choose a representative whose salvation is based upon the success of an institution which has been so tyrannical with the farming community?"

Much of this, it is plain, had its rise in politics, and the language used savors unmistakably of the vituperative oratory of a political campaign. The bank prospered, however, and deservedly so, because the state and local directors were men of unusual integrity and foresight. The report on November 21, 1840, showed a safe balance, and the officers elected were Joseph Orr, President, with a salary of $500.00, A. P. Andrew, Jr., Cashier, with $200.00, Samuel Gordon, Teller, with $600.00, and John B. Niles, Attorney, with $75.00 a year.

Samuel Gordon severed his connection with the bank in 1842, and at the end of this year the Michigan City branch was censured by the central directors because "the item of Real Estate was admitted by the officers to be overvalued;" however, "the Michigan City branch escaped the charge of extravagance which intoxicated the whole community before the present revulsion, and it has in the main been conducted with ability and prudence, though some great errors have been committed, the most objectionable of which is large loans to directors and officers. The discount line is equal to 1⅜ of its capital, and is believed to be about as fair as that of the best managed branches. The losses however resulting from the extraordinary crisis, will be considered. The apology for the large loans to directors is, in effect, that owing to some feuds among stockholders as to control and management of the bank, it became necessary for the one party to purchase the stock of the other, by which the necessity followed of making large loans to the purchasers, to enable them to effect that object." The retiring stockholders were found on the list of bad debtors. "The directory of this bank manifest a remarkable degree of independence, and seem hardly conscious that the state has any interest in the branch." "Overchecking has not been practiced recently, but on a former occasion a cashier was dismissed for permitting this, and other delinquencies." In 1842 the bank had 31 stockholders, and the directors were George Ayres, James Andrew, Daniel Brown, Jonathan Burr, William Clark, James Forrester, W. H. Goodhue, C. B. Blair, J. Whitten, J. B. Niles and J. Orr.

In 1843 the dividend for the year was eight per cent, and in 1845 it was 12 per cent. In 1846, although this branch was prospering, the president of the state bank felt some solicitude because three Illinois men had lately bought most of the stock of the Michigan City branch, and that, being strangers to the community and to the officers of the bank, they might not understand local conditions. The president was Edmund Taylor on an annual salary of $700.00, Daniel Kreich, cashier, with $1200.00 and house rent; and Edmund B. Woodson, teller, with $600.00.

In 1847 the deposits and business increased, a ten per cent dividend was declared, and the president's salary raised to $1000.00. Thus this branch continued its course, weathering the financial storms of the nation and doing good to the neighborhood. The usual dividend was around 10 per cent. In 1850 Uriel Follet was elected teller and book-keeper on a salary of $800.00.

The time was approaching when, according to the charter, the State Bank must cease by limitation. Profits had increased even to 17 per cent in 1855, outstanding a balance of circulation amounting to $1494, for the redemption of which it filed a bond with the auditor of state. This balance was never claimed and the item was reported annually by the auditor until 1883, when it was dropped and the old bank lost its place in current records a quarter of a century after it fell out of sight in the financial life of Michigan City.

On November 20, 1858, a voluntary liquidation was accomplished, and on January 7, 1857, all affairs were cleared away, the capital stock was repaid at par

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

to 19 per cent in 1856, but no more business could be done after 1857. On January 29, 1857, the report showed the directorate of the Michigan City Branch of the State Bank to consist of Sylvanus Evarts, Thomas D. Phelps, Herbert Williams, George Ames, Charles Palmer, A. Case, O. Leeds, E. B. Woodson, U. C. Follett, F. Ames; Edmund B. Woodson was president at $1500.00 and Uriel C. Follett cashier at $1500.00 a year.

The Bank of Indiana at Michigan City, after winding up its business on the expiration of the law in 1857, had left and each share obtained $3.75 surplus, and the bank itself disappeared.

Meanwhile other interests within or without the state had aroused a feeling that this monopoly so long existent should be abrogated by the state. There was influence enough in 1852 so the state legislature of that year authorized the incorporation of so-called free banks. In LaPorte the Indiana State Bank was so incorporated at once.

In 1853 the Bank of Indiana was established at Michigan City, with C. B. Blair as president, W. W. Higgins as

cashier, with John Barker and Aurora Case the other stockholders. This was the twenty-first in the state under the new law. Its capital stock was $50,000.00, the securities deposited were $50,000.00, and the notes issued were $40,798.00. The report for the six months ending the first Monday of July, 1854, reads thus:

Capital stock	$50,000.00
Notes discounted	42,424.56
Remittances	1,338.00
Notes of other banks	11,096.00
Amount due banks	3,953.18
Gold	8,068.83
Silver and copper	14.67
Outfit, furniture, etc.	2,618.07
	$119,513.31
Amount deposited	$50,000.00
Due depositors	17,835 93
Notes issued	48,798.00
Amount divided	2,879 36
	$119,513.31

In 1856 the name of John Barker was no longer among the stockholders of this bank; its deposits were $15,222.82, and business was decreasing. In 1858, when the crisis of the civil war was felt to be approaching, this bank voluntarily decided to go out of existence, and by November 1, 1860, the liquidation was finished.

The Bank of Thomas Wadsworth sprang into existence in 1854, with a capital of $50,000.00. This was a so-called 'wild cat' bank, founded upon credit and paper money, backed by the good nature of the state; so long as the notes kept in circulation without protest, the bank lived, but when, in 1855, these notes sank below par and went to protest, it was obliged to sink and did so, paying 91 cents on the dollar as it disappeared.

The Bank of Indiana was succeeded by C. B. Blair's Banking house, which was founded in 1860 and continued until the organization of the First National. C. B. Blair was also president in 1861 of the State Bank of Indiana at LaPorte.

On April 12, 1872, Mr. Walter Vail came to Michigan City from LaPorte to open a bank under the new United States law which allowed the establishment of National Banks. To secure his charter he had the encouragement of Morrison of LaPorte, and the aid of Schuyler Colfax in congress. The charter called for the First National Bank of Michigan City, with a capital of $25,000.00. In 1882 Mr. Vail relinquished the early charter and acquired another the capital for which was $250,000.00. In 1902 the capital was reduced to $125,000.00. The report of Aug. 22, 1907, shows the bank to be in a most prosperous condition with a surplus of $25,000 and total resources of $940,067.15. The individual deposits at the present time amount to $736,133.53. J. F. Kreidler is the efficient cashier.

The Citizens' Bank of Michigan City was incorporated May 1, 1888, under the Indiana law of 1873 authorizing the organization of state banks, and is the only bank ever formed under that law in the city. The first mention of it in the state reports, that of the auditor for 1888, named as its cashier C. E. Arrett, by which was meant Charles E. Arnt, the first and only incumbent of that office the bank has had. W. B. Hutchinson has been president from the beginning, and to these men, with their associates, is due the success of the institution. Starting with a paid capital of $25,750 and total resources of $80,067.83 at the date of its first report, Oct. 31, 1888, it stood on August 22, 1907, as the largest and strongest state bank in Indiana, with a paid capital of $50,000, surplus of $95,000, and total resources of $1,476,514.14. Its individual deposits grew in that period from $51,671.34 to $1,317,009.08.

The third financial institution in Michigan City is the Michigan City Trust and Savings Company, incorporated May 20, 1903, and authorized to begin business

March 14, 1904, with Walter Vail as president and G. T. Vail secretary, and a capital stock of $50,000. Its third and latest annual report exhibits a flourishing business with total resources of $304,662.97 and a surplus of $2,361.30. The deposits aggregated $251,195.10.

The newest concern in the financial line is the Citizens' Building, Loan and Savings' association, which was incorporated Sept. 4, 1907, with a capital stock of $100,000. The directors for the first year are W. J. Feallock, A. C. Tawse, M. J. Kenefick, J. W. Meyers, Robert Retseck, August Opperman, C. R. Collins, Paul E. Ritter, James M. Garrettson, George Gruse, W. H. Mellor, F. J. Herrold and John Harbert.

The Michigan City Loan and Building Association, of which E. F. Behan is president and I. I. Spiro secretary, has been in successful operation some years. The assets aggregate about $250,000.

CHAPTER XIV.

Schools, Libraries, Churches, Cemeteries and Parks.

SCHOOLS.

Gallatin Ashton was the first regular teacher in Michigan City. This is a matter of fact as well as of record, and should be so understood. There is no need to deny that previously to his appearance teaching was attempted; we know that it was one of the unique phases of the history of pioneer life that our western world was peopled by men and women to whom education was a matter as vital as planting crops. Throughout Kentucky and Ohio, later also in Indiana, the intrepid settler of these wilds pushed forward with a rifle in one hand and a spelling book in the other. No other migration in history, unless it be the Jewish exodus under Moses, showed such devotion to the intellectual—the educational—side of life, as did that which spread across the Alleghenies. The Franciscans or the Jesuits, in their wanderings about the great lakes or in their more systematic attack upon the Indians of California, Mexico and South America, had for their educational purpose the spread of the gospel according to the Roman Catholic church, and they accomplished miracles of conversion, but our pioneers were not propagandists; though they had a deep-seated natural religion, their material struggle left small room for other effort, but they craved knowledge, not only for the sake of improving their physical well being, but also and essentially for its own sake. Education was an Anglo-Saxon inheritance, and they were determined not to lose it.

Thus it was that when they had no school-teacher the tired fathers and mothers at the end of the day would drill into the children the rudiments of the three R's, or they would gladly welcome and encourage any itinerant stranger who might, for a very small recompense, offer to take this burden off their hands. No sooner was a modest settlement made in the West, than some young man who taught as a profession, or more usually as a mere means of earning a living until he could find a quicker way to prosperity, would solicit patronage among the neighbors to start a school. The beginnings of many young men are to be found in such activities. But they soon abandoned school teaching to enter business or to practice some profession. As evidence of such condition of society, it is interesting to quote Peck's Guide for Emigrants in 1835. "It may be well to observe here, that a great and increasing demand exists in all the western states for teachers of primary schools. Hundreds and thousands of moral, intellectual and pious persons, male and female, would meet with encouragement and success in this department of labor." After saying that there is no need for preliminary correspondence, the chief thing being to get ready and to go, to any quarter, it adds, "There is not a county in Missouri,

Arkansas, Illinois or Indiana where persons would not meet with constant employment at teaching, and especially where teachers in Sabbath schools are needed. Persons desirous of such a field of humble yet useful labor, should come here with the fixed purpose to mix with and conform to the usages of the western population, to avoid fastidiousness, and to submit to the plain, frank, sociable and hospitable manners of the people."

Many a village or town began its educational existence in these conditions, and it is not improbable that wage earners of this type were to be found within the township earlier than 1833, but Michigan City, as has been emphasized, began not by accident but by design, and one of the first acts of the founders was to arrange for public school instruction on a systematic plan.

Gallatin Ashton was therefore called formally and officially to Michigan City to take charge of a school, and he taught in the first school house erected in Michigan City, at the corner of Pine and Fourth streets, on a lot donated for that purpose by Major Elston. He was followed within three or four years by Mr. Kennedy, Miss Bell, Dr. Waldo and Mr. Appleton. The late Polaski King in his later years mentioned his attendance at "the old wooden schoolhouse," where, he said, he "had the honor of being instructed, but did not learn as much as he might have done had he applied himself more diligently." Mr. Kennedy taught writing and Mr. Appleton was the first who gave formal instruction in bookkeeping in the town. The names of other pioneer teachers are hopelessly lost, but some are yet remembered.

After Gallatin Ashton Mr. Hubert Williams came, in 1839, assisted by his daughter, Amelia, till 1841. Then there was a young ladies' school under Miss Lucy Fuller at first in the original school building, but later in the old Washington House at the corner of Pine and Fourth streets. A select school was kept in the "old chapel," the third story of the building on Washington street owned by Mr. John H. Barker. Still later a kindergarten was held there. Among the early teachers were Messrs. Warren, Choates, Kent and Phelia Wells, and Mrs. Lampson, Mrs. Susan Low and Harriet Low.

In 1838 there was established the first private school, known by the name of the Michigan City Institute; its trustees were Samuel Miller, Jabez R. Wells, Schuyler Pulford, Abram W. Harrison, Jacob G. Sleight, Samuel Mower, and Gilbert Hathaway, the last being the secretary. Its advertisement for one term (the second quarter of 1839) ran as follows:

For a quarter of eleven weeks,

All branches in the juvenile department,	$2.50
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography	3.40
Use of Globes	.50
Algebra, Geometry, History, Natural History, Botany and Chemistry	5.00
Latin and English Languages, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and the higher branches of Mathematics	6.00
Drawing and French Language	7.00

Tuition strictly in advance. Students not received for less time than one-half a quarter. No deduction for absence except for sickness. Male students board at the institute $2.50 a week. Female students are accommodated in private families.

The principal of the Institute was the Reverend James Towner, and the teachers were Miss Ward, who afterwards became Mrs. Willys Peck, and Miss Coit, the sister of Mrs. Towner. The school continued its sessions till 1841 when, owing to lack of financial support, its career ended.

In the early years of the city, the state had no uniform law governing public instruction, and each county, township or city acted much on its own discretion in the establishment of a public school. A county would have school commissioners whose duty it was to see that localities

populated sufficiently to demand primary instruction should have schools, which might be supported in part by general taxation, in part by contributions from those whose children profited thereby. Michigan City from the very first took what advantage it could from this system. LaPorte county had a school commissioner from the beginning, the first holder of this office being William Clark, who, in the September term of 1833, was ordered to give additional bond; he remained in his position to the May term of 1837, when Daniel M. Leaming was appointed. Leaming evidently did not keep his books very legibly, but from them it is learned that Michigan township (outside of Michigan City) had been allotted for school purposes $157.75 from the sale of non-resident lands, certainly a small sum to apply to education, and a proof that, prosperous and ambitious as Michigan City was at that time, and with a number of children at school age—however small it might have been in proportion to the rapid increase of adult population—public instruction was largely supported by individual contribution.

In 1838 County School Commissioner Arthur McClure reported a fund of $149.82 as belonging to Town 38 north of Range 4 west (Michigan township), but Michigan City did not profit by this, so that the school within the corporate limits was maintained by payments from the private purses of the parents and others interested in any way.

In this old school house on Pine street political meetings were held for many years, and thus the citizens received an education quite as valuable to them as was the more elementary knowledge imparted to the children.

From 1848 to 1850 there was a private school for young ladies conducted by Miss Mary Brown (afterwards Mrs. Lord), a graduate of St. Mary's Academy in Canada; with her were Miss Baldwin, Mrs. Sears, Miss Folsom and Miss Clemens. Among the early instructors recalled with gratitude by older residents are Mrs. Lydia Evarts, Mrs. Mary Griffiths, Miss Ann Hartwell and Miss Mary VanDeusen.

Other schools and individual teachers who gave instruction of more or less value and credit, have left no mark behind. Through the odds and ends of personal narrative, or in indirect reference to early life in the city, may occasionally be discovered references to schooling or to teachers, but all precise information is lost. The same remark applies to the official documents into which should have been entered the reports of school commissioners; no formal mention of original school transactions has been entered, and whatever records of school affairs may have been made are either destroyed or lost by the destructiveness of fire or time itself. This is not an unusual circumstance throughout Indiana; probably in most cities the beginnings of school life can never be accurately and systematically written because original documents have disappeared, and the city government had no definite department for a school report.

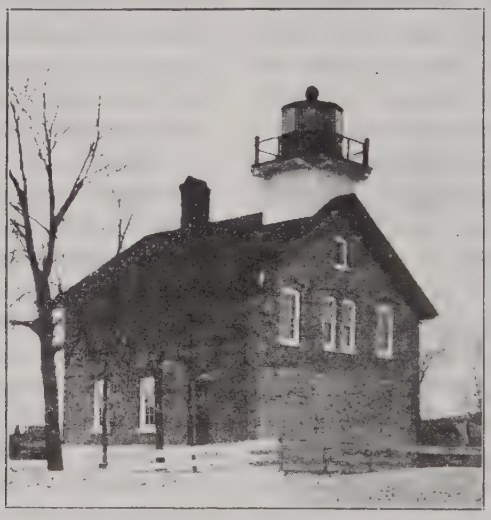
This was the condition of school affairs until the year 1853, when the uniform educational system became operative. The state university had by that time been founded, but the county academy was abolished, the district schools were replaced by the organized high school, and the common school, on the basis of population, was established.

This marked the date of advance into the present satisfactory plan of public instruction, and from that date it is possible to sketch the growth of schools as the city grew. Under wise supervision the city schools kept pace with the demands of the population except for an occasional brief interval of dereliction. In September, 1867, a reorganization was

effected with S. E. Miller as superintendent of city schools and broader plans were adopted. Mr. Miller was in office when the high school was established as a separate department in 1869; when the first class, consisting of only three pupils, was graduated in 1871 after completing the full course of two years; when the old Central school building was erected in 1876, and when the Canada (1885), Garfield (1889) and Eastport (1890) schools were built and the Park school established in 1885, at first in a rented building. He was succeeded in 1890 by J. C. Block, who gave way in 1893 to Edward Boyle, in whose term the Central building was burnt in January, 1896, and replaced by the present handsome edifice. J. G. Monroe was appointed in 1899, P. A. Cowgill in 1901 and L. W. Keeler, the present incumbent, in 1904. The Marsh school was built in 1894 and the Park in 1896. The Elston school occupies the oldest building used for public school purposes in the city and it stands on the lot donated to the city for educational uses by Major Elston in 1833.

The attendance has steadily increased with the growth of the city and of the schools. In 1880 there were 2000 pupils, in 1888, 2,250 and in 1903 it had reached 2,455. At the beginning of the school year, 1907, on an estimated population of 20,000, the attendance at the public schools may be conservatively stated to be 3,000.

This does not include those in attendance at the parochial schools of which three must be mentioned, St. Mary's High School with 500 pupils, St. Stanislaus with 300 and St. Paul's, a Lutheran school.



THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE

The modern public schools have added kindergartens and today there are six rooms with eight teachers for the children of this early age.

A unique phase of the public schools of Michigan City was the interest taken in all that pertained to education by one of her first citizens, Mr. George Ames. He was always active in school work, he gave prizes, he used his time and his talents to see that nothing was lacking to bring his home abreast of other cities and he planted with his own hand or out

of his own purse hundreds of trees to give shade and to encourage the children to have due love for nature.

LIBRARIES.

The Michigan City Public Library, of which the citizens are so justly proud, because, with other reasons it is so completely the outgrowth of local initiative and energy, had its origin in the last will and testament of George Ames, who had always been much interested in educational matters in general and in the schools in particular. In his will he provided a legacy of five thousand dollars, as a fund to be used for the purchase of books for a public library, in case a library organization should exist within a stated time. The needs of the public and the knowledge of this bequest from Mr. Ames encouraged the members of a literary society known as the Fortnightly Club to secure a library. A committee was appointed to look into the provision of the will and to report on what plan of organization would be necessary to secure the benefits of the bequest.

This committee submitted the names of fifteen prominent men and women in the city who consented to form the board of incorporators and to take necessary legal steps, according to the Indiana State library law of 1881, to organize a public library.

The committee was composed of the following:

Mrs. J. Grenville Mott.
Mrs. John H. Barker.
Mrs. Fannie E. Orr.
Mrs. William C. Gordon.
Mrs. Minnie Leeds.
Mr. Otto Klopsch.
Mr. Albert Knack.
Miss Angela Donnelly.
Mr. Walter Vail.
Mr. N. P. Rogers.
Mr. Samuel E. Miller.
Mr. Edward Boyle.
Mrs. A. R. Colborn.
Mr. J. H. Orr.

The organization was effected in May, 1896, and the next step in the development was the offer, by John H. Barker, of a contribution of one-third of the entire cost of a library building to be erected by means of the subscriptions of the citizens. Such an interest had been aroused that the committee appointed to solicit funds soon raised $30,000.00. A site was chosen on the corner of Spring and Eighth streets, opposite the city High school. The building erected is a beautiful one of Indiana blue Bedford stone; it is two stories in height and classic in style, with a combination of the composite and Doric orders of architecture.

The interior is finished in marble and quarter-sawed oak. Special care was taken to fit the building throughout with the best library furniture and appliances. The first floor has the reading and reference room, the children's room, the delivery room and the stack room. On the second floor are the trustees' room, the Woman's Study Club room and the assembly room; this last is used for meetings, exhibits and other similar purposes. The basement is finished off and used for packing and store rooms. The library was opened to the public in October, 1897.

Miss Marilla Freeman organized the library in 1897 and was librarian until 1902. Miss Grace Edwards then took the position for one year and was succeeded by Miss Lillian Arnold, who held the position until December, 1905.

The present staff consists of Miss Inez Pierce, Librarian, and Miss Amalia Aicher, assistant.

The Dewey decimal classification is used and the public has free access to the shelves. During the winter months the reading room is open from 9:30 a. m. to 9 p. m., the loan department from 9:30

a. m. to 8 p. m. During the summer the reading room closes at 8 p. m. Sundays the reading room is open from 2 to 5 p. m.

It has always been and still is the policy of the library to cooperate with and to further in every possible way the educational and industrial interests of the people of Michigan City, and to give them the best it can in the way of recreative reading.

The library is supported by a township tax of six mills. Besides this the income from the following funds is used for the purchase of books: The George Ames fund, an endowment fund of $12,000.00 which was raised by subscription, and a gift of $5,000.00 from Mr. John H. Barker.

The statistics for the year ending April 30, 1907, will give an idea as to the work and progress of the library.

Books in the library, about	10,000
Books circulated during year	37,936
Juvenile books issued during year	14,665
Adult fiction books issued during year	19,000
German books issued during year	1,721
Non-fiction books issued during year	2,544
Largest day's issue	334
Smallest day's issue	45
Average day's issue	124

The present library board is composed of the following members:

Mrs. John H. Barker, President.
Mrs. Jared H. Orr, Vice-President.
Miss Geneva DeWolfe, Secretary.
Mr. Walter Vail, Treasurer.
J. J. Riley.
F. C. Carson.
D. H. Cornell.
Fannie E. Orr.
William Blinks.
R. W. Street.
J. G. Hoch.
Minnie Leeds.
W. B. Hutchinson.
H. W. Johnson.

Under the township library law prior to the present law little effort was made at Michigan City and whatever was done in that direction then has disappeared from human knowledge, leaving no remnant behind.

CHURCHES.

Michigan City's earliest settlers would have violated all traditions of the pioneers if they had not welcomed from the outset the itinerant preacher, and undoubtedly the years 1833, 1834 and 1835 heard exhortations delivered at the foot of Hoosier Slide. Many of these men came on their own accord, urged on by the zeal within them and determined to carry the gospel as they interpreted it wherever there might be a soul in need of it. But occasionally the pioneers themselves solicited the appearance of preachers, and extended an invitation when they heard of a minister in the neighborhood. Thus we know that the Reverend James Armstrong preached a fervid methodism in Michigan City in 1833, although he did not reside there but had headquarters at Door Village, and in 1835 the first issue of the Michigan City Gazette announces that "the Rev. Mr. St. Clair will deliver a sermon in this village next Sabbath at 2 p. m. in the school house." July 8, 1835, the Gazette described the ecclesiastical situation in Michigan City as follows: "A Congregational church has been formed here with a permanent pastor. A Baptist minister of distinction resides here and there is prospect of a Baptist church. A Methodist society has been formed, supplied by circuit preachers."

This does not, of course, refer to the work of the French priests who entered the region of the lakes long before the English and the Americans, and who introduced Christianity to the Indians. Even in 1688 there is evidence that Catholics were tilling this soil, for they had a mission among the Ottawas and were ceaseless in their desire to convert the natives. Around Marquette these mis-

sions flourished, and there was a bishop at Detroit in 1800. From here the Rev. Frederic Rézé (afterwards the bishop) was sent in 1830 to the Potawatomies at St. Joseph, and again as bishop in 1835. These Indians seemed eager for conversion and they adhered loyally to the Catholics, but they were removed by the government troops from their Indiana home, so soon (1838) after the foundation of Michigan City, that little chance was given the missionaries who followed the Indians, to stay at the head of the lake.

The settlers themselves had hurried in from the east and south; the two waves of migration met at this point, and it is interesting to note which brought the dominant phase of protestantism. Major Elston had donated two lots from his original plat of the city for the use of the Methodist church, but the settlers from the east must at the moment have been more alert, because the Episcopalians built the first edifice to be consecrated for the sole purpose of worship.

The Episcopal church with the Rev. D. V. M. Johnson as priest in charge, althought not at first intended for religious services, but used by them for that purpose, was built on Pine street between Fourth and Market streets, in 1836, while the State of Indiana was yet a missionary diocese under the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D., its first bishop. Here the church remained till 1858.

In 1858 the corner stone of a wooden structure on the present property was laid. This lasted till the present church, now Trinity cathedral, was erected. The Rt. Rev. John Hazen White, D. D., had been made bishop of Indiana on May 1st, 1895, but as the state grew it was decided to form within it two dioceses, and therefore Bishop White left Indianapolis in 1899 and took for himself the northern diocese of the state, selecting Trinity for his cathedral and being consecrated as bishop of the diocese of Michigan City.

The Methodists (Episcopal) built the second church edifice in Michigan City, often called The Pioneer Church, referring rather to Methodism than to structure. For some years Michigan City had been in the circuit, but services were held at private houses or in buildings devoted on week days to other than religious purposes. In 1838 Mr. Porterfield Harrison and others erected on the site given them by Major Elston a modest church which was held exclusively for worship. This lasted for several years, but the encroaching sand threatened to bury the place, so that the lot now occupied at the corner of Franklin and Seventh streets was purchased, and a church with a parsonage was built in 1881.

The Congregational church comes next in order. As an organization it had been early to administer to the wants of its members, and even in 1835 the Reverend John Morrill from Massachusetts had moved to LaPorte and then to Michigan City, where he acted as preacher for it, among the members being Mrs. Benjamin James, Jacob and Mrs. Bigelow, Mrs. Susan Sprague, Robert Stewart and Joel Ferris. Mr. South, Mr. Chase and Mr. Townsend followed Mr. Morrill. In February, 1840, the members of the congregation allied themselves with the Presbyterian church till October, 1841, when they withdrew and became again independent. Immediately thereafter Willys Peck and S. H. Turner returned to their earlier confession and established 'The First Congregational Church of Michigan City.'

The building exclusively for worship was not built however till the year 1843, since when it continued in existence until it was destroyed by fire in November, 1907.

A Baptist church was organized in 1836, but it soon ceased to exist, the announcement of the Michigan City Ga-

zette for July 8 and 15, 1835, to the effect that a preacher of distinction resided there and that a church was probable, seemingly having been premature. Again in 1853 the newly constituted church, with the Rev. A. Hastings, formerly of LaPorte, soon ceased to exist. The members of the faith met for some time at the home of Mrs. Walter Leeds on Spring street. A third attempt was made in 1889, with a good prospect of success, but the permanent church edifice now occupied was only used by them as late as 1897.

Notwithstanding the fact that the first protestant religious services in LaPorte county were conducted by Presbyterians in 1832, this denomination did not gain a foothold in Michigan City until 1871, on May 9 of which year the present church was organized with 39 members, the first elders being J. S. Ford, John Orr, J. S. Thornton and Henry W. Johnson. A church edince was built in 1872 and Rev. J. Q. Hall was called to the pastorate. This building was burned in February, 1896, and the following year the present structure was completed and occupied.

The German Methodist Episcopal has a church at the corner of Eighth and Buffalo streets in Michigan City with about 200 members and is in a flourishing condition.

The Lutherans have two churches, St. Paul's and St. John's Evangelical, occupying buildings diagonally opposite each other on Franklin and Ninth streets, each having a church school attached. The one has jurisdiction over about 550 families, the other over about 500 families. The Swedes also have a Lutheran congregation, and the Norwegians worship in a building of their own.

It has been related in an earlier chapter that in the spring of 1675 good Pere Marquette journeyed northward from Chicago along the east shore of the lake until death ended his earthly pilgrimage, and that in all probability he was the first white person who held a religious service on the site of Michigan City. From that time until the present Roman Catholic influence has been continuously felt on the Chicago and St. Joseph rivers and in the region between. Already missionary work among the Indians around the south shore of the lake had been inaugurated by Claude Allouez, who built cabins on the Chicago, was appointed to succeed Marquette, and a few years later established the mission near Niles, where he died in the harness. In November, 1679, while LaSalle was at the mouth of the St. Joseph, as it was named by him, anxiously awaiting the arrival of his lost vessel, the Griffin, his clerical companion, Father Hennepin, caused a rude chapel to be constructed on the high bluff at the river mouth, where he and Father Gabriel Ribourde preached to the French explorers and the Miami Indians, the Pottawattomies not yet having removed to this region. A little later the religious and military post was removed to the vicinity of Niles, where it was called Fort St. Joseph, and from the time of Allouez to the present Roman Catholic rites have been observed almost without intermission there and in the territory reaching to Chicago. The tireless and intrepid missionary priests pursued every trail and stream in the entire region, and "the trail by the creek" was their usual route between the two missions. At the mouth of the creek was a favorite camping ground.

Passing over the romantic period of the eighteenth century and coming to the actual American occupation of Northern Indiana, we find that in July, 1830, Rev. Frederic Reze, afterward bishop of Detroit, visited the tribes in Northwestern Indiana. On that visit he baptized Pokagon, the Potawatomie chief, and secured the discontinuance of

the Carey Baptist mission which had been in operation eight years in which period and for a few years before the Catholics had been inactive there. At the earnest solicitation of Pokagon for a priest to be settled among his people Rev. Stephen T. Badin was sent to reside there. His interpreter and assistant was Miss Camps. Father Badin established his chapel in a small building about a mile from the original site of the St. Joseph mission house. His successor in 1834, Father Desseille, was very active in visiting the tribes and it was he who prepared them for removal to the West. Bishop Brule of Vincennes was with him on several tours in the northwestern field. On his very sudden death in 1837, Benjamin Mary Petit, a young deacon, took up the work. He went with the Indians to the West, but before going he had set up a mission near South Bend, among others.

In the meantime, probably in 1836, Bishop Brule of Vincennes, after visiting Michigan City in the preceding year with Father Desseille, directed a mission station to be established there, and it was served by Revs. Francis Cointet, Francis Gonesse and Theophilus Mainault as missionary priests during the first few years. The mission eventually ripened into a settled church, St. Mary's, and a building was erected at the corner of Boston and Buffalo streets, a site which had long been occupied as the Catholic cemetery. The building was altered and decorated in 1902. Some years after St. Mary's was erected the growth of the Polish population created a necessity for a church home for them and St. Stanislaus Catholic church was established.

CEMETERIES.

The recorded original plat of Michigan City carries the following donation, among others given by Major Elston for public purposes: "One acre of ground on the southeast corner of section 29 is donated to a public Buryal ground." This tract was east of blocks 103 and 104, at the extreme lower end of Spring street and opposite the eastern end of Wood street. It was the city cemetery for thirty years and until the close of the war and is still spoken of as the Old Cemetery. As early as 1840 it began to be too small and March 4 of that year the common council ordained "That 35 feet of the east side of as much of the street running between the graveyard and blocks 103 and 104 as joins said graveyard and lot No. 1 in the same block be vacated as a street and attached to said graveyard."

May 11, 1852, a council committee consisting of I. Bigelow, Aurora Case and W. H. Goodhue, was appointed "to see about purchasing a new burying ground." Bigelow resigned and George Ames was appointed in his stead July 28. Nothing was accomplished by this effort and the matter went over indefinitely.

Ten years later, March 10, 1862, A. Bailey was designated by the council as a committee to inquire about adding to the cemetery, and also to investigate the cost of a suitable piece of land near the Jernegan home for a new cemetery. Out of this action grew the purchase of the tract now occupied by the beautiful Greenwood cemetery. The ground was laid out and prepared for its dedicated purpose in season for the public sale of lots by the mayor August 14, 1864, and November 26 following an ordinance was enacted forbidding burial of the dead at any other place within the city limits. Rules and regulations were enacted March 11, 1865, and June 10, 1872, with minor modifications at other dates.

A Catholic cemetery was established in the block where Boston and Buffalo streets corner, authority to that end being given by the council August 3, 1852, be-

fore the church purchased the property, and November 6, 1852, after the purchase was effected. This ground was soon needed for building purposes by St. Mary's Catholic church and the new cemetery of that denomination was located outside the city. May 28, 1860, there was a council committee appointed to investigate a petition for the removal of all bodies then interred in the old lot, but a year passed by without report and the committee was discharged without action. The purpose was carried out at a later time.

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
P. O. Box 549
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CHAPTER XV.

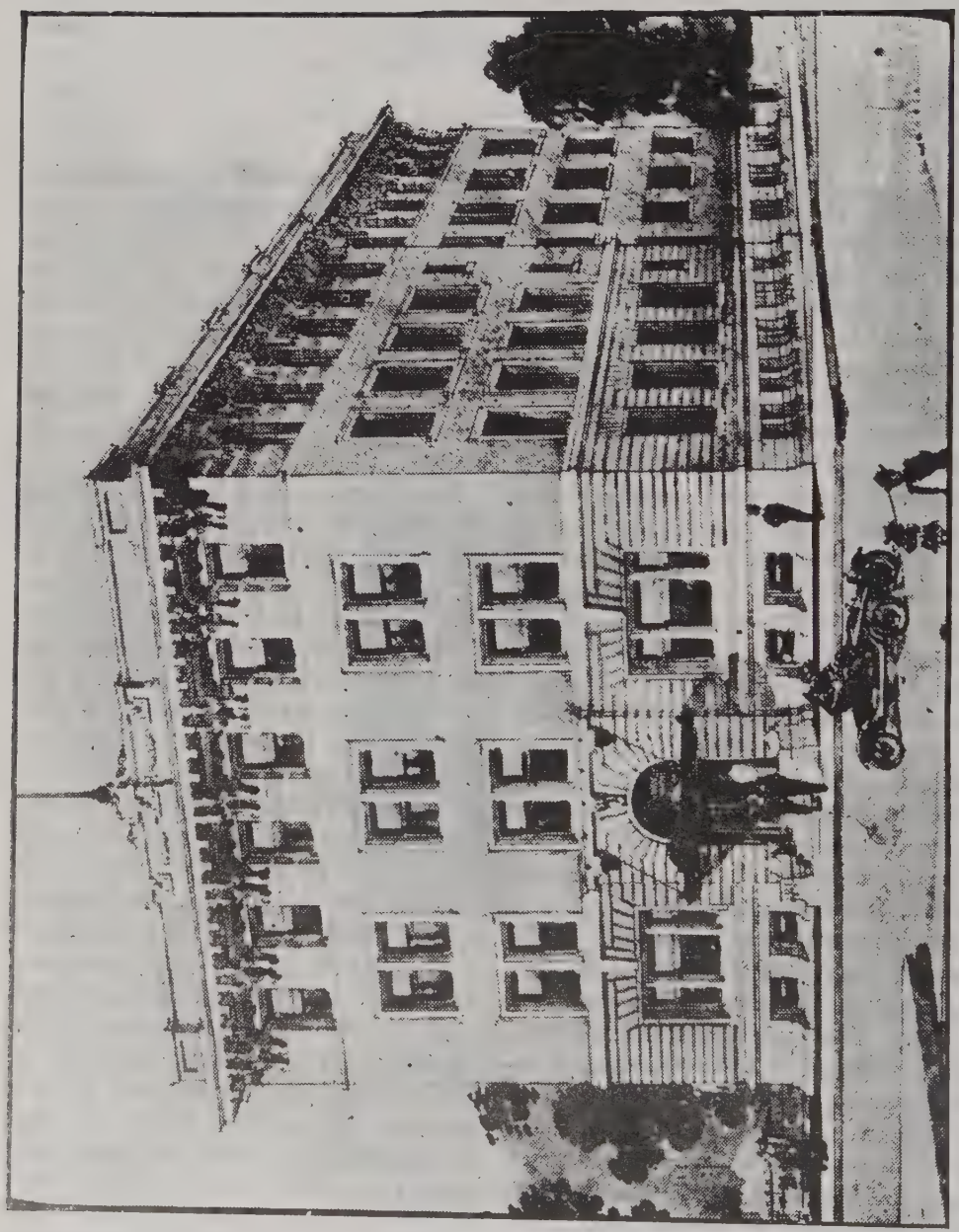
The Press, Medicine and the Law.

THE PRESS.

Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that no complete file exists of the various newspapers published in the early days of Michigan City. The public library treasures these few odd numbers that saw the light before the advent of the railroad, but nobody has saved a complete file of any local newspaper, and what would undoubtedly be the most valuable source of information, not only concerning contemporary conditions but also in regard to dates which have other wise escaped record, has been cast upon the rubbish heap of useless things, discarded the moment they had served their transitory purpose. This inestimable loss should prove a warning to libraries and repositories of the present, for no one can tell when the contents of a newspaper may become the only place in which to find printed statements of what actually occurred on any particular date.

The first newspaper published in Michigan City was the Michigan City Gazette, and the first number appeared July 8, 1835. This was also the first newspaper published in LaPorte county. Its editor and proprietor was James S. Castle, who came from Buffalo around the lakes to Detroit; he himself with his family came by team from Detroit, arriving in Michigan City in June, 1835. Perhaps the most pregnant result of this move was the introduction to this neighborhood of the young brother of Mrs. Castle, Polaski King, a lad of twelve, who had accompanied the printing outfit ahead of them, and who became the first "printer's devil" in the county. Working in the printing office and as a clerk in local stores, and completing his education in the local schools, he entered early upon a business career which eventually made him one of the leading merchants and most respected citizens in the county.

The Gazette was politically Democratic at first, but soon became an advocate of Whig principles, which were of greater popularity at that time in the county. After an exciting life of six years The Gazette ceased to exist, having made way for others. During the career of The Gazette, there was published for a while another Democratic paper called either The Herald or The Times (or both), established by Richard Burleigh. Democracy evidently was not capable of nourishing literature there at that time. The Gazette soon passed into the hands of Samuel Miller, who owned it but leased it to James S. Stuart. In 1840, when Miller still owned The Gazette, occurred what was called 'the elopement of The Gazette'; Miller it seems owed C. B. Blair money, $200.60, and had given a mortgage on the office, but as he could not or would not pay when due, Blair took possession. In the mean time Stuart also had defaulted in his payment to Miller, so that a three-cornered fight ensued during which the press was spirited away. This was the beginning of the end, for in 1841 The Gazette died.



PERSPECTIVE OF PROPOSED $100,000 Y. M. C. A. BUILDING—John H. Barker Donated One-half of the Cost

The character of the journalistic courtesies may be judged from remarks made about The Gazette by the LaPorte Herald (February 22, 1840). "Stuart," said The Herald, "was a degraded being, an abandoned reprobate, entirely reckless of the truth, deceitful and treacherous, a filthy and loathsome blackguard, an object of pity and contempt rather than of ridicule, a mere tool bought up by a rotten bank at a low price and therefore unworthy of a very serious notice." Any person acquainted with early newspaper life around Lake Michigan in those days can well guess without being told that the author of such selected epithets must have been Wilbur F. Storey, who edited a paper in LaPorte and South Bend before he decided to make Chicago famous.

Although Storey never lived in Michigan City, he was instrumental in a roundabout way in pushing a newspaper here. After the suspension of The Gazette the city was left for some time without a paper. At this time Wilbur F. Storey established the Mishawaka Tocsin, but at the end of the first year he sold it to George Merrifield, who, in 1845, sold it to Thomas Jernegan, who then moved it to South Bend. Thus, on the Tocsin, Jernegan received his newspaper training, but when he in his turn had sold his outfit, he knew of the opening in Michigan City and consequently went there and in April, 1846, established the Michigan City News as a Democratic organ. The News continued until September, 1853, when the office was burned. Jernegan was then postmaster, and being busy enough with his federal duties, he decided not to resume the publication of this paper.

Again was Michigan City without a press exponent of current affairs, but in the summer of 1854 Richard W. Colfax began publishing the Michigan City Transcript, advocating Whig instead of Democratic policies. In the spring of the next year he sold his interests to Wright and Heacock; Heacock withdrew and went to California, leaving Wright the proprietor. Wright then changed the name to The Enterprise and continued to be its editor until the fall of 1859; he was a vigorous and sometimes a brilliant writer, and did much to attract attention to the growing Michigan City. Then (1859) he took charge of a paper in Waukesha, Wisconsin, and Thomas Jernegan, who had previously edited the Michigan City News (1846) and had been postmaster (1853) took The Enterprise and continued it.

Jernegan was thus one of the oldest editors and publishers in Indiana; with but few years of intermission he was in the business nearly half a century, with honor to himself and to his work. In May, 1869 ,the city council made The Enterprise the corporation newspaper for a year. At one time during the meeting of the Methodist Episcopal conference in Michigan City, it appeared as the Every Day Enterprise, but there was not enough demand for a daily edition and it returned to the weekly ranks. Except for a period of two years and six months during the war, that is, from May, 1863, to November, 1865, when its editor was assistant paymaster, The Enterprise lived its life of usefulness down to 1883, and it promised so to exist unchanged, but trouble came unsolicited. In 1861 Lew Morrill had taken charge, and W. C. Brundage owned a half interest. A. R. Colborn lent Morrill $1,500.00 with which to buy out Brundage, whose share was to be transferred to Judge J. C. Suit, a Frankfort, Indiana, friend of Colborn. But Colborn's enthusiasm cooled, and to secure him Morrill gave him a mortgage on the entire office furniture. This awkward arrangement lasted until the summer of 1884, when Colborn threatened foreclosure; Morrill tried to sell the office hoping to get enough to cover the

note, but was unsuccessful, and he then offered to surrender the paper to Colborn or to any one he might select. This Colborn agreed to do, and chose C. S. Claypool, a friend connected with the Delphi Journal, who was to manage The Enterprise and assume the payment of the $1,500.00, which was supposed to be secured by a bill of sale on the property from Morrill. When it became known that the paper was thus sold, Nósworthy and Barshof of Michigan City, who had a bill against Morrill for $400 got out an attachment on the office. Judge Daniel Noyes, before whom the subsequent suit came, decided that Colborn's mortgage had not been recorded at the proper time, and that the office was worth more than the face of the note, and he therefore rendered judgment in favor of Nosworthy and Marshof. Claypool had then had charge of The Enterprise only eight weeks, but had not paid a cent, and as the paper and fixtures were rapidly deteriorating, Colborn decided to have no more to do with the business. The publication ceased therefore, and the property fell into the hands of the sheriff. Some wish was shown to have Morrill reinstated as editor, but nothing was done and The Enterprise was finally closed in December, 1884.

Mr. Charles J. Robb was working on The Enterprise in 1881, but at its demise he had gone to Sandusky, Ohio, then to Flint, Michigan, and to Chicago. Meanwhile The Republican Printing Company had tried to revive The Enterprise and felt that its existence would be firmer if Mr. Robb were to assume charge. After seriously considering the matter, Mr. Robb associated with himself Mr. Ira S. Carpenter of Chicago, and these two came to Michigan City in 1888. They changed the name to the Michigan City News, made it a thoroughly Republican daily paper, and soon bought out The Republican Printing Company. In 1902 Mr. H. R. Misener, city editor of The News since 1896, bought out Mr. Carpenter, the firm name then becoming Robb & Misener, and The News has continued to be a well established daily. Mr. Robb is the editor, Mr. Misener the business manager and Louis L. Wheeler the city editor.

It has been stated that the Michigan City Enterprise suspended for some months during the war (1863-65). In this interval M. and J. Cullaton published the Michigan City Review, but on the resumption of The Enterprise and the return of Mr. Jernegan, it died.

There had been an earlier Michigan City News, Democratic in politics, when J. F. Rowins began it in March, 1875. Soon after N. Conover became a partner and, buying out Rowins, the sole proprietor. But this News died after a brief career.

A technical, not a news paper, must be mentioned, as it is part of the journalistic life of Michigan City. This was the Prison Reformer, published in behalf of the inmates of the State Prison. The Reverend M. S. Ragsdale was 'moral instructor in the prison,' and took this means to give publicity to the efforts making for the good and happiness of the prisoners. It was continued but a short time.

Die Freie Lanze, a weekly published in German and begun in 1891, was conducted successfully by Dr. Carl Freitag, a scholarly and forceful writer who came to Michigan City from Chicago to embark in this journalistic venture, until December, 1907, when it was discontinued.

To The News, the oldest and almost the continuous descendant of The Transcript of 1854, and Die Freie Lanze, must now be added The Dispatch which was started December 4, 1879, by Harry C. Francis. The Dispatch is today one

of the best and most ably conducted Democratic papers of Indiana. John B. Faulknor, who served in the Indiana legislature in 1907, is the editor and publisher, while the news departments are in the hands of Charles Gray and James Gleason.

MEDICINE.

Pioneers usually doctor themselves. If a frontiersman happens to know something about medicine, he may be of service to his fellow associates in the wilderness, but in all probability he is among them not as a physician but like themselves as a pioneer; his skill he may turn to account, but it is offered as neighborliness rather than as a means of obtaining pecuniary recompense.

Michigan City was not a settlement but a foundation, yet it did not differ much in this respect from other places springing up in the West. Its first days were not marked by full fledged civilization, and two years passed before there is any record of a real physician practicing his profession for hire. In this fresh, open sandy prairie, exposed to the lake breezes, health was almost perfect; accidents happened and a few diseases, such as malaria and dysentery, were seemingly unavoidable, but the settlers were sturdy folk whose parents had most of them experienced the same hardships, so that they knew how to look after all of the minor and most of the major illnesses.

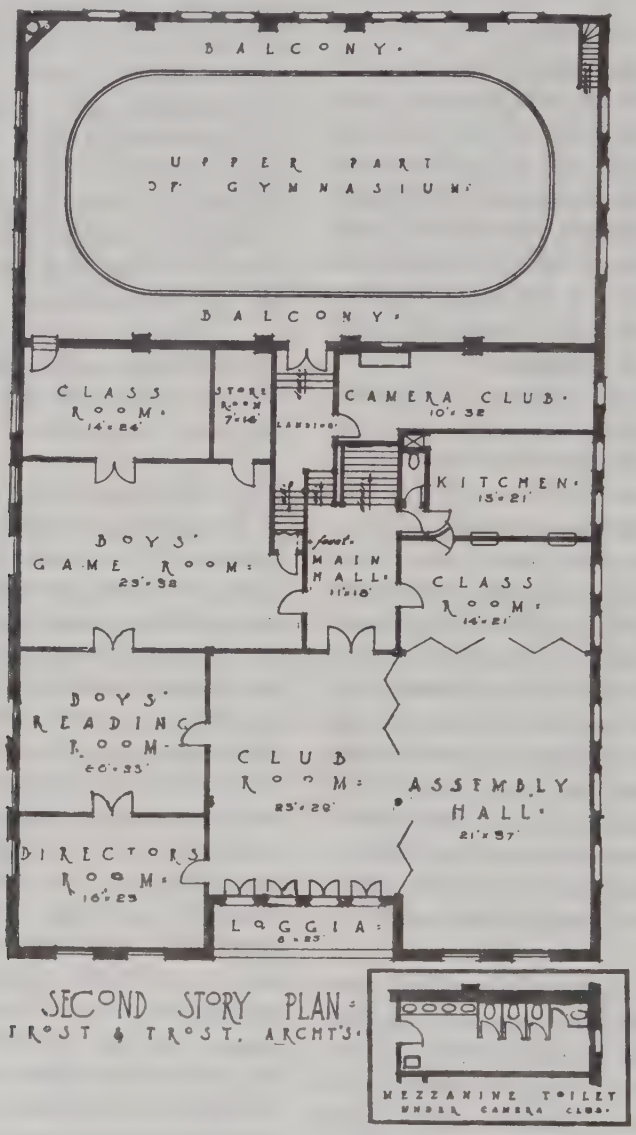
That the city attracted medical talent can be learned from many touching incidents in which the character of the people is shown. In 1835, so says The Gazette of July 15, of that year, a poor Polander had attempted suicide, but some one treated him skilfully and thereby saved a life. This man was a ward of the county commissioners, as the records show. They were thoughtful for the needy and used whatever funds they had for succor to those seeking it, and those were not few. Other similar instances of timely relief are to be found in the records of the early commissioners.

We shall never know just how much good was done that way, but we do know that Michigan City looked well after the unfortunate, and thereby we get a proof of the presence of one of the first practicing physicians here. Dr. J. C. Chamberlain had in April, 1836, attended a pauper, Henry Brown, and the city paid the bill. Dr. Chamberlain had an office for regular consultation in the Mansion House at Franklin and Michigan streets, sometime in 1835. Dr. Lee H. T. Maxon, who was so active before the legislature in securing the charter for Michigan City, had his office one door east from this corner.

This is the meager record of medical life in those beginning days. The names of Dr. DeWitt, Dr. Strong, Dr. Charles Palmer, Dr. Schuyler Pulford are known, but dates and details about their personalities are lost. In January, 1838, Dr. Pulford and Dr. Chamberlain received remuneration from the township for services rendered, and Will S. Lindsley, not even called a doctor, was also remunerated, but such small memoranda are hard to find. There was Dr. Jacob H. White who came west from Utica, New York, in the early thirties and practiced medicine, which he combined with farming in the county, but no precise knowledge of his professional life is preserved. Dr. James Anthony Wilkinson, who lived in LaPorte from 1834, also practiced in Michigan City and covered miles of adjacent territory. These few names have not escaped oblivion, but Dr. C. J. Bentley, who surely lived in Michigan City among the pioneers, cannot even be traced as a physician, if that is what his title implies.

From this early influx of medical men, and equally from the rapid disappearance of such names from the advancing years, we can draw one more proof that Michigan City had had its boom, and that after the panic of 1837 its few remaining inhabitants were not enough to attract more professional practitioners than were already there.

We must wait nearly ten years before we find the city again beginning to offer inducements to those seeking new homes. After the depopulation of the Oregon migration, from which Michigan City along with others suffered, permanent settlement marked its increase, and in 1849 the Germans commenced to come to this country. Among them were


BALCONY.
UPPER PART OF GYMNASIUM.
BALCONY.
CLASS ROOM. 14 × 24'
STORE ROOM 7 × 14'
LADDER
CAMERA CLUB. 10' × 32'
KITCHEN. 15 × 21'
BOYS' GAME ROOM. 23 × 32'
MAIN HALL 11 × 18'
CLASS ROOM. 14 × 21'
BOYS' READING ROOM. 20 × 33'
CLUB ROOM. 23 × 29'
ASSEMBLY HALL. 21 × 37'
DIRECTORS ROOM. 16 × 23'
LOGGIA. 6 × 23'
SECOND STORY PLAN.
TROST & TROST, ARCHT'S.
MEZZANINE TOILET UNDER CAMERA CLUB.

Y. M. C. A. BUILDING

always university men who came to America to escape the crushing effects of the revolution there, and of such a cast was Dr. Henry Schultz. He was born in Germany in 1818 and took his medical degree there in 1844. In 1849 he arrived in Michigan City and from that time was a permanent resident till his death.

The year of his arrival was the year of cholera epidemic in Chicago, and many of the inhabitants fled to Michigan City. This undoubtedly helped to make the name better known and to give the place a good reputation to settlers and health seekers.

In 1852 Dr. Mason G. Sherman arrived, and although he at first was a manufacturer, one of the founders of the present Haskell and Barker Car Company, he very soon entered the ranks of medical practitioners and should be enrolled in that list, rather than elsewhere.

The names of Dr. Higday and Dr. Brusie are found in an advertisement as practicing in 1856. From this date through the next twelve years, although the city was slowly growing, its inhabitants came and went, and there can be found in the old directories or gazetteers very few names which would today be recognized or which left an impress upon the people.

Dr. David T. Brown, born in Vermont, is another of the permanent settlers. He began practice here in 1869 after serving honorably as a military surgeon during the war. He received the appointment as surgeon to the Michigan Central Railroad, and held among other offices that of county coroner. His children still survive him, and are now old-time residents. Another physician coming here in the year 1869 was Dr. Lewis H. Sovereign, a Canadian by birth. He had previously lived in Illinois but had married his wife in Indiana, one reason for making Michigan City his permanent home.

Now the children of Indiana have grown up and native Hoosiers are entering the professions. Dr. A. G. Tillotson was one of them; he was even born in LaPorte county; he studied in Chicago and came home in 1872.

Another Hoosier was Dr. Charles C. Hamerick, born in 1845. He came to Michigan City in 1874, and in 1878 was appointed physician to the Northern Prison. Another Hoosier associated with him in the prison duties was Dr. Alexander J. Mullen, Jr., who came here in 1878. One of the most interesting careers in this profession is that of Dr. David Tollchiff, whose father was a Seneca brave, the mother being a Potawatomie. He remained with his father's tribe till he was 17, moving then to Kansas. He was official government interpreter for years, and after receiving his medical degree was surgeon to the First Michigan Sharpshooters. He came to Michigan City in 1878.

In 1879 Dr. S. B. Innes, who, though a Canadian, had become a citizen of the United States, and a soldier during the threatened campaign against Maximilian in Mexico, came to Michigan City to practice and to establish here a sanatorium, the first of its kind here.

These examples show the character and growth of medical life in such a city as Michigan City was and is. From 1880 we enter the present generation and the list might be prolonged by the names of many who remained only a short while or who are still in active practice. Today there are 25 physicians and dentists in the city. The Board of Health is composed of Dr. Whitefield Bowers, Dr. V. B. Bacon, Dr. C. W. Cleveland; the township physician is Dr. Frank Leeds.

Some years ago Dr. Blinks and Dr.

Tillotson established a private hospital to meet the increasing desire and demand for the refinements of modern surgical practice, and it serves its purpose well; for certain special forms of treatment the hospital is still open, but the general medical and surgical cases adapted for a hospital, are now cared for at St. Anthony's. This hospital was opened in 1904, the cost for building and equipment being $80,000.00, a goodly part being donated by Mrs. John H. Barker. The hospital is under the control of St. Frances sisters, whose parent hospital is at LaFayette, Indiana. It is modern in detail and can accommodate 80 patients. Nursing is done by a corps of sisters who receive training elsewhere and are thus fully prepared when they begin here. St. Anthony's has no medical staff, but the occupants of its free beds as well as its private rooms, are permitted their choice as to the medical man who shall attend them. In this way there is an impartiality which helps to preserve the unusual harmony existing today in the profession in Michigan City.

The practicing doctors in Michigan City at the present time are:

Physicians—Tillotson & Blinks (Alvin G. Tillotson and Edward G. Blinks), J. Nelson Ledbetter, J. B. Rogers, J. J. Kerrigan, C. W. Cleveland, V. V. Bacon, F. V. Martin, F. R. Leeds, Whitefield Bowers, F. R. Warren, H. W. Wilson and Mrs. (Dr.) M. L. Dresher.

Osteopath—Dr. Julia A. Fogarty.

Eye, Ear, Nose & Throat Specialist—W. Eberhart.

THE LEEDS' BUILDING

Optician—A. M. Oswald.

Dentists—G. W. Gibson, C. H. Seymour, G. S. Hershey, A. W. L. Gilpin, A. L. Knapp, R. A. Marr, A. Schutt, J. G. Sawyer and W. B. Flynn.

LAW.

Wherever men come together differences of opinion arise, but only where there is organized society, with laws, forms of procedure and written indications for government can there be lawyers. In Michigan City, laid out as it

was from the beginning as an organic entity, lawyers appeared before the first charter was granted in 1837.

Even before the incorporation the town commissioners were in need of the simpler machinery to carry on business and to preserve order. An instructive petition of the pioneer days shows the efforts of the first citizens to meet their responsibilities. It runs as follows:

The undersigned inhabitants of Michigan City beg leave respectfully to represent that said town has only one justice of the peace, that the growing property of the place, its extensive commercial transactions, and the large number of strangers who resort here, renders it necessary that all legal facilities should be had to render justice to be done at any time; and whereas Esqre Flint our present justice calculates to be absent from the village a considerable portion of the season at his brick kiln; therefore we humbly pray that your Honorable Board will order the appointment of one other justice of the peace and order an election accordingly. Also a constable to be elected at the same time.—Michigan City, May 4, 1835.

(Signed) Eliakim Ashton, L. C. Shaw, Miles S. Henry, H. S. Finley, W. G. Garner, Joshua Hobart, James Waddell, L. H. T. Maxson, Wm. Teall, D. Sprague, Westley Crandall, Dave Burr, H. C. Skinner, Chas. W. Henry, Alden Clark.

The first lawyer mentioned who identified himself with Michigan City was Jabez R. Wells, who had been admitted to the bar April 26, 1835, and came directly to the new city. He was made probate judge of the county in 1841, which position he occupied until 1848; finally leaving LaPorte, where he had lived after elevation to the bench, in 1875.

Thomas Tyrrell is a romantic name, chiefly because so little is known about him, but also because he mysteriously disappeared suddenly from Michigan City, and was never afterwards heard of.

A. W. Enos is another name appearing and disappearing from the records of the city in 1836; mentioned by early chroniclers but untraced excepting perhaps in the memories of those who may have heard of him in their childhood. Gilbert Hathaway and J. W. Chapman came in 1836, but they removed to LaPorte for residence after a few years in order to be nearer the courts.

An important member of the bar who at this period selected Michigan City for residence and practice, was Edward A. Hannegan, probably one of the most brilliant orators, when Americans loved oratory, the country ever knew. Born in Ohio, raised and educated in Kentucky, he opened his career at Covington, Indiana, as a lawyer. After serving in both branches of the state legislature he was elected to Congress in August, 1833, and again in 1835. In the winter of 1836-7 he came to Michigan City. In 1840 he was again a candidate for Congress but was defeated by Henry S. Lane, then a U. S. Senator and later Governor of Indiana, after which he returned to Covington. From 1843 to 1849 he was in the U. S. Senate. At the close of his term he went to Prussia as Minister, but being unfitted for diplomacy both by nature and by habit he was recalled in less than a year and his public life then closed. The drinking habit grew upon him and in May, 1852, in his own home, he killed his wife's brother, whom he dearly loved. He was intoxicated at the time and was never indicted or tried for the murder. No human punishment could have added to his suffering. He removed to St. Louis, but peace of mind did not follow him and Jan. 25, 1859, he died there, a tortured wreck. Mr. Hannegan was the only member of either branch of Congress who ever lived in Michigan City.

The firm of G. A. Everts and A. L.

Osborn had a law office in Michigan City in 1839, but both lawyers had their homes in LaPorte.

The decision, natural and really unavoidable because of the legal position almost at the center of the county, to make LaPorte the county seat, combined with the decline of interest in Michigan City after the panic of 1837, put a stop to the tendency of lawyers to locate here, and much of the business for years was done by lawyers who lived in LaPorte but who might come over for cases or who drew clients to them.

Scarcely any mention of the profession can be found until the year 1853, when the tide of permanent prosperity was flowing. Then James A. Thornton came to Michigan City, practiced here, married here, was prosecuting attorney, a thorough citizen of the place, and, in a way, may be called the first lawyer whose name is identified completely with the courts here.

The Herald (LaPorte) of April 18, 1863, mentions the sad case of Judge Lawson of Michigan City who was in the poor house.

Not before the industrial life of the city began, was there that larger field which gave scope for the exercise of the profession. When the war broke out many who had commenced practice, or at least the study of the law, were drawn into the army, so that here again was another check to the professional body, but from 1864 on may be dated the true establishment of that body here, as we know it in any city.

At this date there are 20 lawyers practicing and living within the corporate limits. W. W. Pepple is the city attorney and Theron F. Miller, was prosecuting attorney for LaPorte county from Jan. 1, 1906, to Jan. 1, 1908. The practicing attorneys are: Collins Bros. (C. R. and J. B. Collins), J. H. Orr & Son (Jared H. Orr and James H. Orr), Crumpacker & Crumpacker (S. J. Crumpacker and Harry L. Crumpacker), Watson & Treuthart (J. J. Watson and J. A. Treuthart), Moore Bros. (Frank and Robert Moore), James F. Gallaher, M. T. Krueger, W. W. Pepple, Theron F. Miller, E. J. Bower, F. C. Bateman, M. J. Kenefick, H. A. Schwager, I. I. Spiro and LeRoy S. Romer.

THE ELSTON SCHOOL

CHAPTER XVI.

The Indiana State Prison.

In 1858 there was a movement to establish a second prison in Indiana. This found expression in "An Act to provide for the location of a new State Prison north of the National Road and for the construction of the same," approved by Governor Willard March 5, 1859.

March 16, 1859, commissioners who had been appointed for this purpose met and elected John W. Blake president, John P. Dunn, secretary, C. W. Seely, superintendent of construction and ex-officio, warden; these, with B. F. Muller, constituted the board of control. Edwin May was the architect and Lott Day the deputy warden.

They carefully examined the various possible sites for the new prison, and at first selected Fort Wayne, but this was promptly rejected; on March 1, 1860, they reported in favor of Michigan City, giving as their reasons, after listening to the claims of active rivals, that here could be found railroads in three directions and the lake traffic north, so that competitive rates were available; that stone and lumber could be had here cheaper than in any other point in Northern Indiana; that brick material of first class quality could be found here, and that prison labor could be profitably employed, and on March 2, 1860, the governor approved their action.

The board of control at once purchased one hundred acres from C. B. Blair, paying at the rate of $45.00 an acre, considering this a low price in view of the rapidly increasing value of land in Michigan City. As there was no suitable accommodation for either convicts or laborers in the neighborhood they rented of Mr. Blair and fitted up the old pork-house on the lake shore at the bend of Trail Creek, and this they used for the reception and lodging of prisoners sent to them.

In April, 1860, a requisition was made on Jeffersonville for 150 convicts to build the northern prison, and these were sent on July 26, under rather careless guard, for three escaped. The board of control had however made good rates for the removal of these convicts, the Monon granting half fare, and for the transportation of all material to be used in the construction of the prison, the Michigan Central granting a rate of one cent a ton a mile.

It was decided to make the grounds 600 feet square, enclosed by a wall 25 feet high, the foundation to be of stone brought from Joliet, Illinois. Work was immediately begun with the 147 convicts still in charge, although they were poor laborers and had to be taught the rudiments of mechanical work; the contractors paid the state at the rate of 70 cents a day each, which at that time was considered a good return for such men.

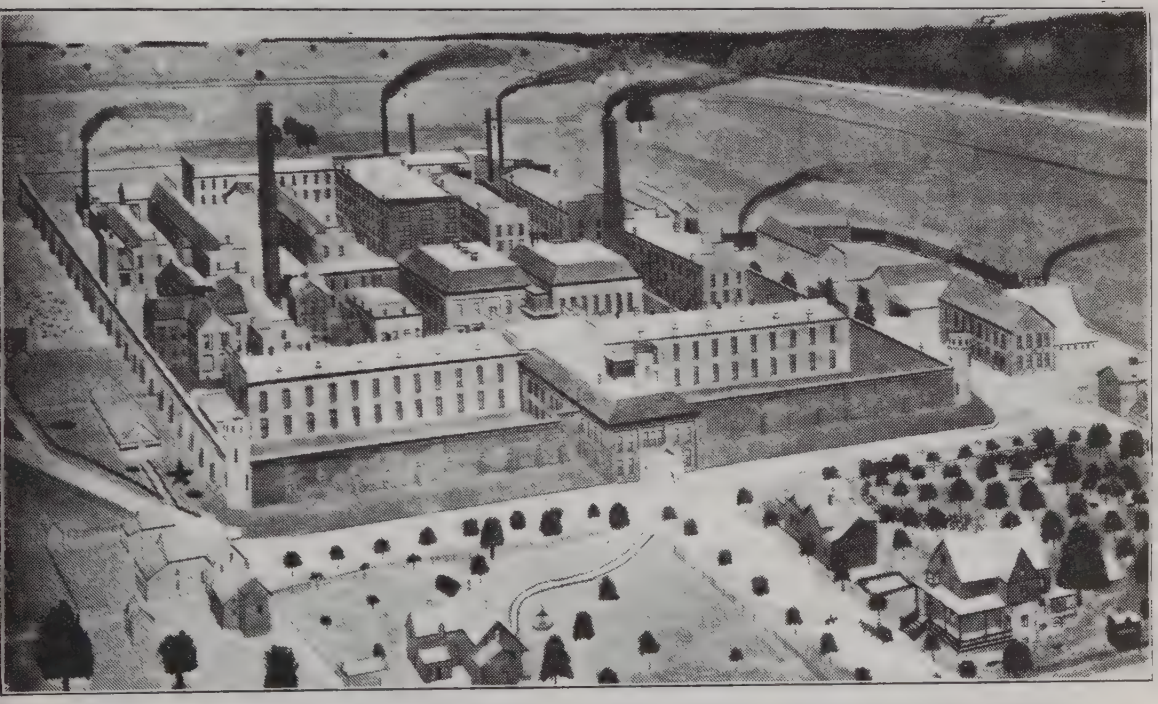
In the first report of the warden dated December 15, 1860, it is stated that the building work is 'now nearly finished,' and some of the convicts could be housed within the walls. Provision was made for 24 female convicts, and it was considered best not to try to accommodate more of this sex. It was estimated that the convict labor done that year for

the prison amounted to $22,602.29.

The warden following Seely was Sam C. Kirkpatrick, but he was succeeded by Hiram Iddings, who made the second annual report, on December 15, 1861. The legislature had passed an act in June, 1861, making a receiving prison of the one in Michigan City, but the officers at Jeffersonville seem to have been shrewder than those here, because the newer prison was not given the right or power of selection, and consequently the weakest and most wretched prisoners were transferred, many of them being worthless and those who could work being so incompetent that free mechanics had to be hired to teach the essentials of labor. At the close of the year there were 253 inmates and the Rev. John Sailor was appointed the first moral instructor.

The annual report of 1862 made by Warden Iddings, complains of this feature and also of the fact that whereas the act of the legislature passed in 1862 transferred 200 more convicts to Michigan City at specific rates, no arrangements were made for their return in case they proved undesirable.

In 1863 a new warden was elected, Thomas Wood, and he, in his annual report, dated December 15, announced the first contract for prison labor to include all able-bodied convicts (then stated to be 202) to commence on May 1, 1863, and to run for two years, at the rate of 45 cents a day without motive power. This was considered one of the best contracts in any of the adjoining states, and was let to the firm of Haywood & DeWolfe, of Michigan City, for coopering. This is the first appearance of a local business in connection with the prison, but from that date on, the connection be-



INDIANA STATE PRISON

tween the city and the prison became a close one, and it is well to notice how the industrial energy of Michigan City was stimulated by the prison. A smaller contract was confirmed between the prison and Earlywine & Haskins, but it soon lapsed.

Thomas Wood continued to be warden through the annual reports of 1863 and 1864; during his term he let contracts with Niles, Michigan, and with Chicago contractors, and at the last recorded date the number of convicts had decreased to 114, a fact accounted for by the events of the civil war.

Unfortunately the reports of the wardens and others are missing for 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868, but on December 15, 1869, W. W. Higgins made a report which shows a commendable advance over preceding reports, and with the contracts renewed or just made, the prison had been placed on a self sustaining basis. In this year older contracts with Jones & Chapin, with John Cross and with Hall & Cross were established, and attention may here be called to the firm of Ford & Johnson, who then signed their first contract, commencing November 1, 1868, for prison labor, taking one hundred convicts at fifty cents a day for a term of five years.

W. W. Higgins continued in the warden's office till he made his annual report on December 15, 1870. On this date the prison held 318 convicts, almost all of whom were under contract. The name of C. H. Hall is signed to a contract for fifty men at fifty cents a day, and that of J. H. Winterbotham is added to the firm of Jones & Chapin, whose second contract began July 10, 1867, after the original contract of 1864. The expenses for the year are given at $46,075.67, and the receipts at $47,905.03, a self-sustaining condition of which the prison and the city might well be proud.

Charles Mayne was the successor of W. W. Higgins in the wardenship, taking office on March 11, 1871. He shows a self-sustaining condition from the day he took office till the date of his annual report, December 15, 1871. There were 295 prisoners in good control, and the only criticism the warden has to offer is to the effect that the price of prison labor contracts is too far below that of normal labor. J. H. Winterbotham & Sons, and Ford Johnson & Company, who accepted the C. H. Hall contract also, are the only local contractors.

Warden Mayne's next report, dated December 16, 1872, shows 314 prisoners and still a self-sustaining financial condition, but the prison suffered two misfortunes which must be noted. On July 13, 1872, a disastrous fire occurred within the walls in the chair factory of Ford Johnson & Company, throwing 150 men out of work and causing unfounded comment; and toward the end of the year the clerk, Alfred Leonard, absconded with $2,365.83, and although a large reward was offered he was not captured. The fire led to some real improvements and to a more definite plan for future enlargement of the shops.

Warden Mayne's next report, December 16, 1873, is more hopeful; there were 368 prisoners, and again the income more than balances the outgo. For some time complaints had been made that the water for the institution was not pure and that the health of the convicts suffered from it; moreover, the fire of the previous year showed that another such accident would be quite as inadequately met, unless better provisions were made. Consequently the legislature authorized a contract for a well, and good fortune led to the strike of water at a depth of 541½ feet, which promised to supply all that was necessary for some time to come.

Charles Mayne, the warden making the report on December 15, 1874, gives the number of convicts at 445, a rapid increase over that of previous years. The prison is still self-sustaining, in spite of a fire on October 29, 1874, which the Michigan City fire department extinguished, but the number of prisoners is above the number of cells proper for their accommodation, two men being usually crowded into one cell, a condition harmful to the men and detrimental to the discipline so desired by both the warden and the moral instructor. In 1874 a contract was signed with Kumler & Melcher, cigar makers, to employ 25 men at fifty cents a day.

Warden Mayne was re-elected in 1875 for a term of four years. His annual report dated December 15, 1875, gives the number of convicts at 511 with 350 of them under contract; the prison is still self-sustaining, but the promised repairs have not been undertaken. The library has been improved however, and the moral instructor, as he has officially up to now been called, is for the first time given the name of chaplain.

In the report for December 15, 1876, Warden Mayne shows a continuance of self sustaining work, with 603 convicts, 465 of them being under contract. The price of labor seems to have declined, for a new contract, to Joseph Pratt of Chicago, calls for only 55—45 cents a day, while H. H. Walker has taken over the cigar contract of the bankrupt Kumler & Melcher at 25 cents a day for 25 men, but, as the warden shows, this small sum was better than an abrogated contract which would yield nothing at all and leave the men idle for the remainder of the season.

A new fiscal year is instituted in 1877, for Warden Mayne makes his report on October 31 instead of December 15. The prison is still self sustaining, has 646 convicts, of whom 565 are under contract.

On October, 31, 1878, a decrease in the number of convicts is reported, there being but 605, and only 495 under contract. For the first time Warden Mayne was obliged to acknowledge a deficit, but heavy repairs had been ordered, the cost of which was added to the expenditures. By this time the north wing of the cell-house had been completed so that each prisoner has a room to himself. Besides this, the main sewer was finished.

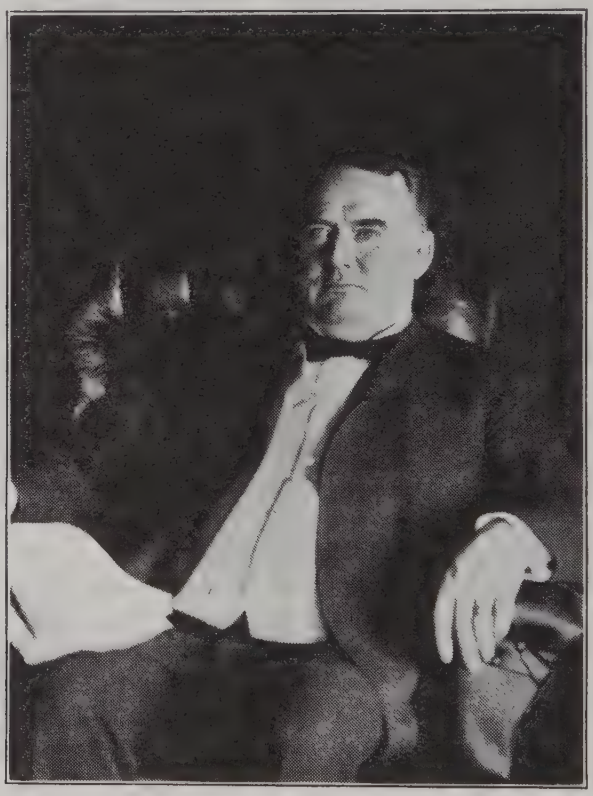
New contracts were established with I. M. Southworth for knitting, with 25 men at 30 cents a day and a few men even cheaper, with Hibben & Straus, and with J. G. Mott, who used convicts in a shop making wire and agricultural tools.

Warden Mayne was succeeded on October 1, 1879, by James Murdock. There had been a political quarrel about the appointment of a new board, and some difficulty was encountered when the new board attempted to take possession, but this was finally settled and all details were turned over to the new warden. Warden Murdock however could make only a slight report of the period during which he had been in control, extending from October 1 to October 31, but he finished his year with a deficit of only $281.63, credit for most of which must be given to his predecessor. The prison at this date had a capacity for 800 convicts, but the inmates numbered 542, of which 470 were under contract.

Warden Murdock made an annual report on October 31, 1880, noting 577 convicts, with 560 under contract, and a deficit of $934.15 in the expense account.

James Murdock retained the office of warden until the first of March, 1891. The consecutive reports made during his term show the changes and advances made in the institution itself, as well as the progressive interpretation given to

the care of criminals. A state prison was no longer a slave colony where the outcasts of society were herded, with no other purpose than to get them out of the way and to make what use of them was possible till they died in the harness; modern ideas of penology had become more humane, and efforts were directed to the reform of the criminal and to restoring him whenever possible to usefulness, as well as to the protection of more law abiding communities from his presence. How this modern science of penology developed can be studied no where else with better results than in the Indiana State Prison at Michigan City.



WARDEN JAMES D. REID

In 1881 there were 572 convicts, and of those 490 were under contract, but the price of provisions was increasing, as well as the standard of living set for inmates of the prison. To offset these factors, the contract price of prison labor had advanced, so that instead of 45 cents in some cases, 63 cents was the price obtained, and in others 30 cents was superseded by 50 cents. Notwithstanding these gains, the average cost of an inmate a day was 38½ cents, and a trifling deficit of $486.64 was creditable indeed. During this year of 1881, the prison established connection with the water works system of Michigan City, so that a greater supply was secured. J. R. and J. Winterbotham are entered as contractors for 125 men.

Annual reports are now made to end on October 31 of each year. In 1882

the prison had 620 inmates, 570 being under contract. Although the cost of living was still rising, the cost of maintenance had declined to 37 2-3 cents, while a noticeable sum of $5,382.24 was the net balance in favor of the prison. The library, which at first was merely a miscellaneous collection of odds and ends, had become a feature of the prison, and inmates were encouraged to pass their leisure time in reading, but the moral instructor, as the chaplain is again called, joined with the warden in reporting it in a poor condition, and begs the legislature to appropriate money for its improvement. The contracts in force are those with J. R. and J. Winterbotham for the cooper shop, with John G. Mott for the wire and agricultural implement shop, with Ford, Johnson & Company for chairs, and a new contract is signed with Joseph Pratt for the manufacture of boots and shoes.

In 1883 the prison is again self supporting, there are 566 convicts all under contract, but the Pratt shoe factory went bankrupt and Vail & Oakley undertook to use up the unexpired term.

In 1884 the self supporting condition is maintained, but rather at the neglect of some repairs which ought to have been attended to. Complaint is made of the lack of a bath house, of a wash and dry house; the store rooms are inadequate, and the prison is not kept warm enough for the proper health or comfort of the inmates. The legislature had recently passed a "Good-time Law," which met the hearty approval of the warden, of the chaplain, and of all who interested themselves in the care of criminals, and nothing better than this illustrates the humane spirit entering this function of the state.

A new name appears among the contractors for this year, that of George E. P. Dodge of Chicago, who manufactured boots and shoes with prison labor. Six hundred and eighty-nine inmates were reported, all employed.

The prison was again self supporting in 1885, with 703 convicts, all employed. $20,000.00 was expended on the needed repairs mentioned in the last report; a three story factory of brick, for the use of the Amazon Hosiery Company of Chicago, was completed, and an insane ward, long desired and earnestly advocated by the warden as necessary to aid in the proper segregation of convicts, was finished and open for patients. The library was enlarged, and with careful management the daily cost of an inmate did not go above 34½ cents.

In 1886 a high net gain in income is reported, with 697 prisoners all under contract. The warden and the board of control join in a suggestion to the governor to consider some plan for placing released convicts when their terms expire—another step, it may be remarked, in the later science of penology.

The use of the 'cat' was abolished in 1887, and punishment was found to be more efficacious when its essence was moral rather than physical. In this year the prison contained 634 inmates, all being employed.

Each year shows greater attention to the morale of the prisoners, and greater study not only of the causes of crime, but also of its cure. Thus in 1888, the board of control has a long report on the ideal at which Indiana should aim in the conduct of its Northern Prison; some features preserved at Michigan City are commended, yet, without harshness or bias, many existing conditions are criticized as unwarranted and obsolete, and they request authority from the legislature to institute reforms that may place the institution within the front rank of modern prisons. The system in Ohio had been examined and commended,

THE BLAIR RESIDENCE, WHICH WAS AFTERWARD CONVERTED INTO A SISTERS SCHOOL

while emphasis is given to the 'parole system' which for the first time finds mention in written reports. Meanwhile there is no falling off in the net profit from labor contracts, and within the walls are made chairs, boots and shoes, barrels, and the output of the Amazon Hosiery Company. The convicts, all employed, number 702. On December 24, 1887, fire destroyed the three story brick factory in which boots and shoes were made, but it was at once rebuilt.

In the report for the year ending October 31, 1889, a new board of control is found, and they manifest their interest and activity in having built a private electric light plant, whereby the prison was saved considerable money over the cost of gas supplied by the Michigan City Gas Company; they also substituted the use of oil for fuel in the prison furnaces, and an independent sewer passing under Hoosier Slide was constructed.

In 1890 the prison was self sustaining, and the dining room had been changed, although the number of convicts had decreased to 735.

J. W. French had been warden for eight months when the annual report ending October 31, 1891, was made. The number of convicts under his charge has increased to an even 800, but the prison can accommodate only 760 men with each in a separate cell, so that it has become necessary in some cases to permit two men to sleep in one cell. This condition is of course unhealthy and subversive of discipline, but no improvement is warranted by the legislature, nor was any change made up to the time of the annual report of 1892, although the number of convicts had decreased to 763. Again is the value of a parole law emphasized, but no action concerning it is taken. The income balances the outgo, and the daily cost of an inmate is reckoned at 34¼ cents. During the year the new Tecumseh Facing Mills had been built within the walls. Warden French showed his energy by solving an embarrassing dispute between the city and the state; it seems that the Blair brothers had laid out a new subdivision near the prison, but at the side of it ran an open sewer, which, so the citizens declared, received some of the refuse from the prison and thereby polluted the neighborhood. If everybody had waited for either the city or the state to settle the dispute as to which should be responsible for the condition, it is probable that the sewer and the vacant lots of the subdivision would be there yet, but Warden French cut the knot by sending unemployed prisoners into the ditch and finishing the needed repairs in short order.

The prison meanwhile was not in the best repair; the various departments had not been kept in the best order, the walls were insecure, the water was insufficient and perhaps unhealthy, and the chapel with the hospital were not large enough. These conditions received some attention under Warden French, and in his report for 1894 he mentions the improvements begun.

This year 1894 marks a new era in the prison regime. A biennial report takes the place of the annual one, but the date of making it, October 31, is retained. A greater change must be noted in the condition within the prison. In 1893 there had been 841 convicts, in 1894, 908, but of these 375 had been idle. For 1893 income had balanced expenditure, but in 1894 a deficit had been reported. An important reason for this had been the depression in all business throughout the entire country, but a much more significant reason was the growing opposition shown by free labor to contract prison labor. Bids therefore for the use of prison labor were becoming less and less as the years went by, and the price

offered for the labor was lower and lower. In some instances it was difficult to obtain any bids, and discussion of this matter cropped up in the legislature not only of Indiana but also of many other states. Warden French calls as much attention to this as to the condition of the buildings.

The next warden was Charley Harley. In his biennial report on October 31, 1896, he stated that there were 851 prisoners at the end of 1895, and 842 at the end of 1896. A large deficit occurred, and the entire institution was submitted to an exhaustive scrutiny. The new administration represented by fresh members on the board of control supplemented the warden's report, and even added criticisms of their own. The hospital was declared unsuitable, the chapel unsafe and other departments were out of date; in fact, great desire was shown to restore completely what could be modernized, or to build completely anew what had outlived its usefulness. Under guidance of an outside architect improvements were proposed to the amount of $185,068.00.

In this period the Amazon Hosiery Company had in a sense repudiated its contract, but Mott, Dodge, Ford, Johnson & Company continued their connection with the prison, and the Allen Manufacturing Company (bicycles), together with the Lakeside Knitting Company, signed contracts.

In 1897 the prison held 884 convicts, and in 1898, 782, but of these only 380 were employed. The report of Warden Harley for the term ending October 31, 1898, calls attention to this fact, but no remedy can be proposed for the lamentable idleness through which the prisoners suffer while unemployed. One commendable feature for which all humane students are congratulated, is mentioned; the 'Parole Law' had been in existence one year, and gave promise of even better results and influence upon the prisoners than the instigators of it had dared to hope. The board of control, of which Walter Vail of Michigan City was a member, announced the completion of many of the improvements requested in the last report, so that the prison can be compared with those of other states and the good system and general regime followed is beginning to attract wide attention. The Allen Manufacturing Company had gone into bankruptcy, but the other contracts, such as they were, held on without change. The last Assembly (1897) had passed the new Contract Labor Law, and it went into effect for a fair trial, only under the administration of Warden George A. H. Shideler, who had been appointed on November 1, 1899.

The new law permitted the employment under a contract system of only fifty per cent. of the inmates of the prison, and then allowed each contractor only a maximum of one hundred convicts. This was to continue up to October 1, 1904, when the state was obligated to find employment.

At the commencement of the century, therefore, the contract plan in the Northern Prison stood as follows: John G. Mott was allotted 100 men in the cooperage work, The Ford Johnson Company 100 men in the chair industry, the Lakeside Knitting Company 100 men, and the Reliance Manufacturing Company, making shirts and working clothes, 100 men. A new steam plant was built and put in operation at a cost of $20,000.00.

In the report for October 31, 1898, the name of the Institution had been changed, and it is no longer called the Northern Prison, or the State Prison North, but receives the title of the Indiana State Prison, while that at Jeffersonville, the first penal institution of the

state, becomes the Indiana Reformatory.

James D. Reid was appointed warden on November 1, 1901. In the biennial report ending October 31, 1902, he congratulates the state on the fact that the parole law has proved such a success; 84 per cent of the prisoners receiving parole have fulfilled the conditions required, and they have to that extent become useful members of society and relieved the state of both burden and expense. The warden commends the cash allowance of $10.00 which by a recent statute has been given to every convict dismissed at the expiration of his time, and thinks that the amount so donated is really a valuable asset to the state. The Bertillon system of measurement has now been introduced, and is a proper step. The library has been improved to the comfort of the prisoners. He refers to the law of 1899 under which only 50 per cent of the convicts could be employed in contract labor, and though the law as a whole is warranted, he thinks that soon some practical means must be devised to find and furnish employment for all convicts, so as to keep them busy and to offer them a suitable trade after they are dismissed. In the power plant electricity has been substituted for steam, with economy and effectiveness. The cost a day a man has been kept in 1901 to 34 1-5 cents, while in 1902 it has decreased to 32 2-5 cents. The number of prisoners in 1901 was 864, and in 1902, 796, only 400 being employed on contract.

By the report ending October 31, 1904, it is remarked that the merit system was inaugurated October 1, 1903, and about the same time a merit braid was used to give the convicts credit for good conduct. Thus every prisoner on his entrance into confinement was admitted to the first grade, but degraded to the second or even the third grade for improper conduct, while for fidelity to work and duty he was advanced by the use of the braid. A night school and an orchestra had been started, both of which were highly appreciated by the prisoners. The cost of maintaining a prisoner a day remained close to 34 cents; on October 31, 1903, there were 751 prisoners, and on the like date 1904, there were 833.

September 17, 1904, very early in the morning, a disastrous fire destroyed three large factories, the prison store room and their supplies. The cause of this fire has not been well explained.

In 1904 the contract with the Ford & Johnson Company expired and was not renewed, but J. G. Mott was to employ 100 men, the Reliance Company 100 men, the Stirling Manufacturing Company 100 men, and the Mt. Airy Stone Company 100 men on a six year contract ending October 31, 1910. Besides these, James Hiner was allowed 15 coopers if the number of convicts ran above 800 so as to permit of the use of the percentum established by law.

The last available report dates to October 31, 1906. There were on October 31, 1905, 896 convicts, and on the like date 1906, 950 convicts. The daily cost of maintenance has declined to 32½ and to 30½ cents during this period. The library has almost 4,000 books with numerous dailies and several magazines, thus enabling each convict to read two books a week, and to keep posted on current events and literature. Thirty-seven officers and guards were engaged in the routine conduct of the prison and the moral tone was eminently high. The contract system, still restricting the number to 50 per cent of the inmates, had been extended to October 1, 1910, but on March 15, 1906, a great step had been taken in prison management. There had been introduced the binding twine

plant, which promised not only to keep the prisoners busy, to give them useful employment and a trade available when they ceased prison life, but also to sell the product at a lowered cost to the farmers of the state, without competition with outside industries dependent upon free labor. Two hundred spinners working eight hours a day were already engaged, one half a million pounds of twine had been made and sold, saving the farmers $75,000.00.

These details of the development of the State Prison bring to light the important features not only of the growth of the local institution, but also of the whole subject of penology. Before 1860, a prison was a citadel in which were confined those unfortunates who had been guilty and legally convicted for the perpetration of some crime; but once within the walls, the convict was a hopeless, helpless, abandoned human unit. To be sure the kindheartedness of some warden, or the religious zeal of some chaplain, might attempt something to mitigate the forsakedness of the prisoner, but supposing all this, he remained a nameless unit, he had only a number, and he became insane through idleness, or brutalized through exhausting work, or criminalized through bitter reflection on the heartlessness of the world as well as by association with the more hardened inmates around him. When he was discharged, there was seldom any life before him except that of the criminal at large. Besides this, the duties of those in charge of the prison were more than usually performed by those who had no love for the work but accepted the offices as political rewards.

Today the whole scheme of prison life is changed. The convicted man is by law and by more charitably growing custom considered merely as guilty of a mistake, he is only to that extent more guilty than many without the walls; his tendencies and his motives are studied rather than his act. Once in prison his health is carefully considered; his fitness for certain work, his physical and mental aptitudes and requirements. The moral side of his nature is sympathetically given a chance, his intellectual faculties are encouraged to develop, he can study, read, keep in touch with the outside world, he gets civilization's point of view, and when he is dismissed, he has a trade, his physical and mental sides are better than when he entered, he can hold up his head with the knowledge that society does not despise him, prison life instead of a disgrace has oftentimes become a source of dignity and pride—in two words, he has acquired a genuine manhood.

Michigan City in its State Prison has offered to the world a worthy object lesson in the treatment and reform of the criminal. Its merit system, by which the decently behaved and ambitious convict is given a chance to rise, its parole law by which good service and faithfulness to duty are rewarded by a limited freedom, its rule for providing the dismissed convict with respectable clothing and money, combined with the legally authorized society which secures him work and protects him against suspicion and mistreatment, its contract labor reforms together with the independent labor system by which the convict is kept occupied and given a trade, while avoiding the vexing conflict with free labor,—all these have made this prison a model of its kind. It has aided in the prosperity of the city, its codes have been quoted throughout the country, there has grown up here an esprit de corps unequaled in but few similar institutions, and visitors from at home and abroad have come here to see put into practice the latest theories of humane prison management.

It has been shown in this hasty sketch that during several administrations reforms in prison methods had been recommended to the general assembly and that some response had been made in the way of advanced legislation, more especially noticeable being the indeterminate sentence and parole laws. To take these reforms out of the realm of ideality and put them into actual and successful practice has been the task of James D. Reid, the present warden, who was appointed November 1, 1901. Mr. Reid was born in the Empire state, in rather humble circumstances, about midway in the past century. He received some small education in the minor schools of his boyhood and turned out early in life to make his own way to fame and fortune. Engaging in various enterprises, and not omitting to supply as best he might the deficiencies in his early education, he ultimately found himself settled in South Bend as a successful contractor in large public works and an employer of many men. Being elected trustee for the township containing South Bend his administration of the difficult and multifarious duties of that important office in such a city during a period of much poverty drew the attention of the State Board of Charities to his unusual capacity and fitness for public service in the line of institutional work and paved the way for his selection as warden when a successor for Mr. Shideder was to be chosen.

Coming to the prison in the prime of a healthy and vigorous life, Warden Reid brought to the office an equipment which insured success and rapidly brought him to the front among the executive heads of similar institutions in the United States, and indeed in the world, for the Indiana State Prison is in every civilized country regarded as a model of its kind. He is rapid, accurate and profoundly sympathetic in reading the character of men, his own character is above reproach, he is firm, shrewd, tactful and always just in his contact with the unfortunates in his care, and he adds to this the business ability and experience essential to success in managing the material interests of the institution.

On the latter side Warden Reid has, at an unexpectedly low cost, made greater improvements in the grounds, buildings and physical equipment of the prison than have ever before been made there in an equal period of time, and the work of modernizing the institution is still in progress along practical and economical lines. The exterior and interior grounds have been cleared up, rearranged, improved and beautified. The prison farm has been made a source of profitable supply to the prison table. The machinery has been overhauled and put in perfect running condition. The old condemned dining hall and chapel building has been torn down and its place occupied by a new cell-house, than which there is none better anywhere. A new dining hall and kitchen and a new and modern chapel occupy more convenient places than formerly. The buildings destroyed by the fire of 1904 are replaced by better ones. The insane ward has been removed from its former inappropriate place in a cell-house to larger and better quarters in the upper story of the hospital. The great encircling wall is being extended so as to double the ground space within. The twine factory, one of the most notable prison industries ever undertaken in the country, has been put in successful operation. These are a part of the achievements of the past few years.

The warden holds that the true function of a penal institution is to fit its convicts for restoral to society as law-abiding, self-maintaining citizens, and that

the only foundation upon which such character can be built is self-respect. If convicted criminals were to be permanently confined it might not be particularly dangerous to dehumanize them, but if they are to be temporarily restrained and then sent back into the body of society it is the summit of absurdity to make them worse and more dangerous by their treatment in prison before releasing them. The paramount interest is that of society at large, not that of the individual convict. This is the central thought of the indeterminate sentence and parole legislation, and acting on it intelligently and with full sympathy for its purpose Warden Reid seeks to inculcate in the mind and heart of each inmate that self-respect which leads to respect for the rights of others, respect for the laws of the land. It is in this aspect that the Indiana State Prison has in Warden Reid's time won world-wide recognition as a successful exponent of the best and latest prison ideals.

Without entering into the details of the existing administrative method at least two elements making for success must be mentioned. Foremost is the rigid exclusion of politics from prison affairs; and without this it is not worth while to enter upon any scheme of improvement in penal methods anywhere. Next is the careful attention given to the morale of officers and employees in the institution; for mad or indifferent character in subordinates will overcome the best influences flowing from the higher officers.

In his efforts and plans for better things Warden Reid has had the warm co-operation of the Governor of the state under whom he has served and of the members of the board of control who have held office in his several terms, for he was re-appointed in 1903, 1905 and 1907. The present members of the board of control, who also act as the members of the board of parole, are as follows:

Patrick O'Brien, South Bend.
Michael Foley, Crawfordsville.
H. R. Coffel, Knox.

Following is the warden's official staff:

Ward A. Garner, deputy warden.
David S. Durbin, steward.
Walter H. Daly, chief clerk.
F. J. Harvey, chief of Bertillon department.
James Kennington chief stenographer.
Rev. O. L. Kiplinger, prison chaplain.
Dr. H. M. Milligan, prison physician.

HON. JOHN H. BARKER.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HASKELL & BARKER CAR CO.

FOUNDED 1852. INCORPORATED 1871.

John H. Barker, President, Elected 1883. W. J. McBride, Vice President, Elected 1907. Charles Porter, Secretary, Elected Jan. 30, 1907.

In 1852 the first railroad passed through Michigan City, on its twentieth birthday, one night say, when Indiana and the rest of the western world was young. But this youth was full of vigor, the country was eager for railroads, which meant prosperity, the railroads needed equipment for their rushing trade. One road ran east and west, busy with the up-building of the even newer Mississippi Valley; in 1853 another ran to Michigan City from the south, bringing purchasers and settlers to the doors and carrying away what the busy merchants offered for sale. Lake Michigan was already active with vessels and an occasional steamer transporting goods to this market and encouraging the search for the natural riches along the shores. Here was timber within easy reach, iron to the north and coal to the south,—everything for their manufacture, yet cars were purchased and brought from five hundred miles away.

Here was opportunity. Demand was increasing, supply was inadequate, and at the proper moment opportunity was seized. The Monon—The New Albany and Salem, The Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad, The Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railway, as it has progressively been called—had decided to reach Michigan City in 1853, but even before that date it knew that it wanted *freight cars;* three young men from Ogdensburg, New York, wanted work, and they hurried out of the east to begin a larger business.

In 1852, which date marks the foundation of the present corporation, the firm name was Sherman, Haskell & Company, composed of Dr. Mason C. Sherman, Frederick Haskell, and his brother-in-law, Hiram Aldridge.

The firm put up crude buildings on a piece of ground of about two acres, bounded by Sixth street on the north, Seventh street on the south, Elston street in the east and the Monon right of way on the west, which had been purchased by them. Michigan City was at that time a struggling city of perhaps fifteen hundred, and had survived the period of early booms, had kept alive during the panic of 1837 and the exodus to California of 1849, and was now slowly entering upon a career of steady and

HASKELL & BARKER CAR COMPANY BIRDSEYE VIEW OF PLANT TAKEN FROM TOP OF HOOSIER SLIDE

well founded prosperity. The days when all traffic was on Lake Michigan or in schooners across the prairies and through the woods of Indiana, were passing though not yet gone, and the new life of the railway was still a novelty. It had not yet been decided that the railway was to become the mighty force in commerce as we know it today.

In 1855 Dr. Sherman retired, and in his place came new energy and a new name, that of John Barker, a pioneer resident of Michigan City.

VIEW IN PLANING MILL

John Barker was born in Andover, Massachusetts, December 14, 1814, of New England Puritan stock. He was brought up on a farm, the youngest of eight sons and three daughters. As a boy he went to public school and later to Phillips Academy at Andover, but at eighteen he left home to become independent and began work in a store to learn the details of business with E. J. M. Hale.

After three years in Haverhill, Massachusetts, he decided to go west, and thus, after gaining experience in Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio, where he was employed in dry goods houses, he came, finally, in the spring of 1836, to Michigan City. Here he met his cousin, Jacob Carter, with whom he formed a partnership for general merchandising under the firm name of Carter & Barker.

At the end of three years he bought out his cousin's interest and formed a new partnership with William Best. Barker & Best continued from 1839 till the illness of Mr. Best compelled him to retire.

Mr. Barker had found Michigan City a frontier village at the head of Lake Michigan; in it he had weathered the panic of 1837 and the unprogressive days thereafter, but he liked life here,

and he was determined to make more than a country town of his selected home. He had been one of the leading citizens to push the harbor works when the government made no progress with it, he had foreseen the advantages to be obtained from the coming railroads, and he had been among the first and most energetic subscribers to stock.

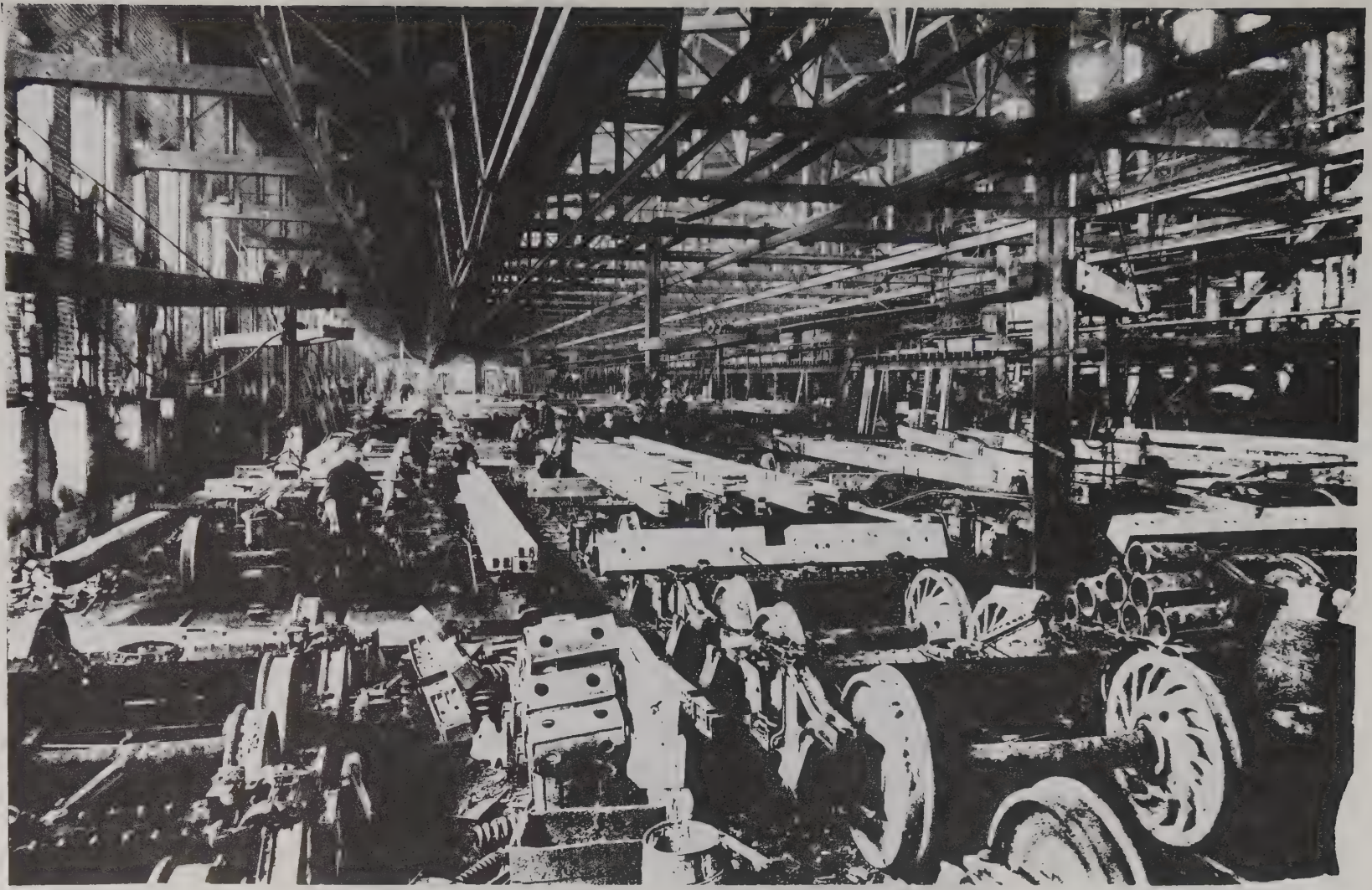
In 1852 he associated with C. E. DeWolfe in partnership, but only for the purpose of retiring from general business to give himself to the larger interests which demanded his time and attention. He was then a shipper of grain, he had elevators and a pier of his own, and his affairs had made him acquainted with the growing activities of the whole west. He soon saw the value of the new industry and, on the retirement of Dr. Sherman in 1855, Mr. Barker purchased a third interest. From that moment on, the history of the *car works* is indissolubly connected with the life of John Barker.

In 1869 John H. Barker, the son, assumed the direct management of the Haskel & Barker Car Company and John Barker, the father, retired from the active business, removed to Chicago, where he made his home till his death on March 21, 1878. It is to the memory of John Barker that this record of forty-five years of industrial activity is dedicated.

When Mr. Barker joined it, the firm became Haskell, Barker & Aldridge. They were ambitious, and besides *freight cars* they made passenger coaches. Then they added to their output threshing machines of the Woodbury patent, hand corn shellers, and reapers of the J. J. Mann patent, which was at that time a machine popular in Indiana, the home of its inventor.

But the panic of 1857 prostrated the business of the country and threatened to

VIEW IN PATTERN SHOP



NOON HOUR IN THE ERECTING SHOP

end their infant industry. There was nothing to do.

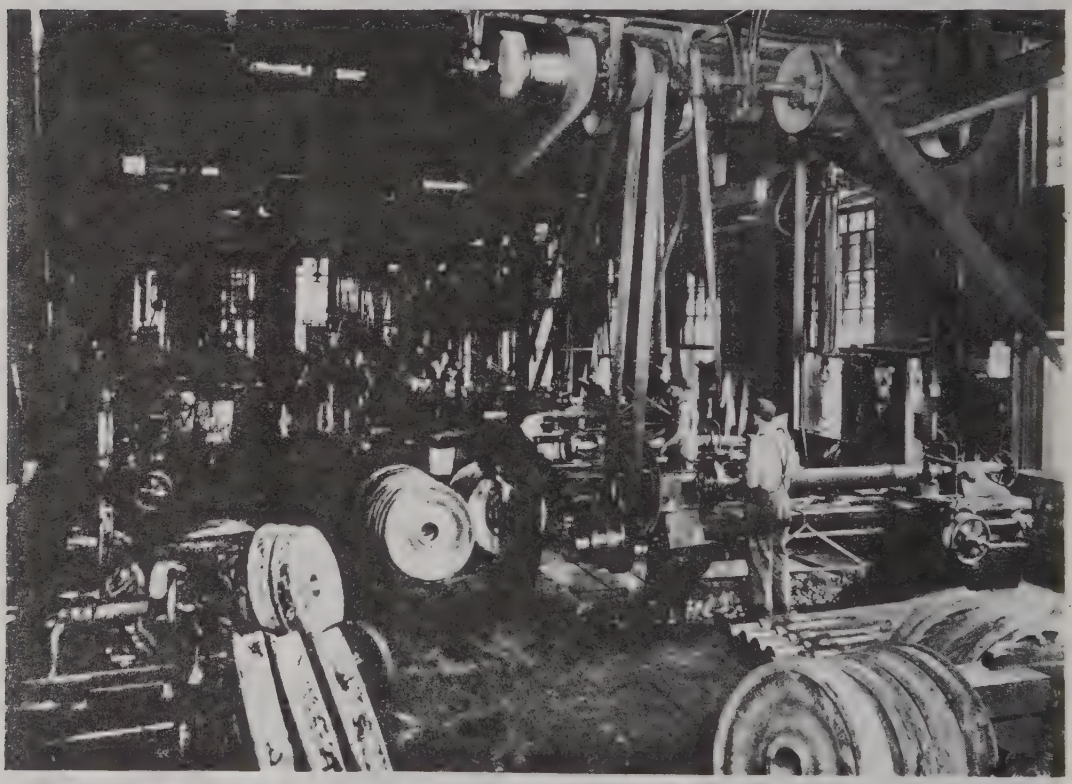
In 1858 Mr. Aldridge retired, and the firm now became HASKELL & BARKER. In spite of hard times Mr. Barker would not give up; he had begun to make freight cars.

For two years more the firm continued manufacturing *freight cars* according to the demand of the time. Their output in 1860 was at the most only a few cars a month; they employed a force of 60 men, they had small buildings occupied by the shops and the factory covered an area of two acres.

In 1869 Haskell & Barker were making two cars a day and they occupied buildings covering two acres. The marked growth of the company may be dated from this year, when the position of general manager was filled by John H. Barker, the son, on the retirement of John Barker, the father.

John H. Barker was born in Michigan City, February 4, 1844, in a house which is still standing. He attended Racine College two years and a half, and at the age of eighteen went to Chicago and entered the grocery house of J. H. Dunham; he was later with Pollard & Doane, but in 1864 went to Springfield, Illinois, to start the wholesale grocery of Smith & Barker; he moved to Chicago again in 1867, establishing the wholesale grocery of Meeker & Barker, but in 1869 he came to his home in Michigan City, and has ever since been connected with the car company.

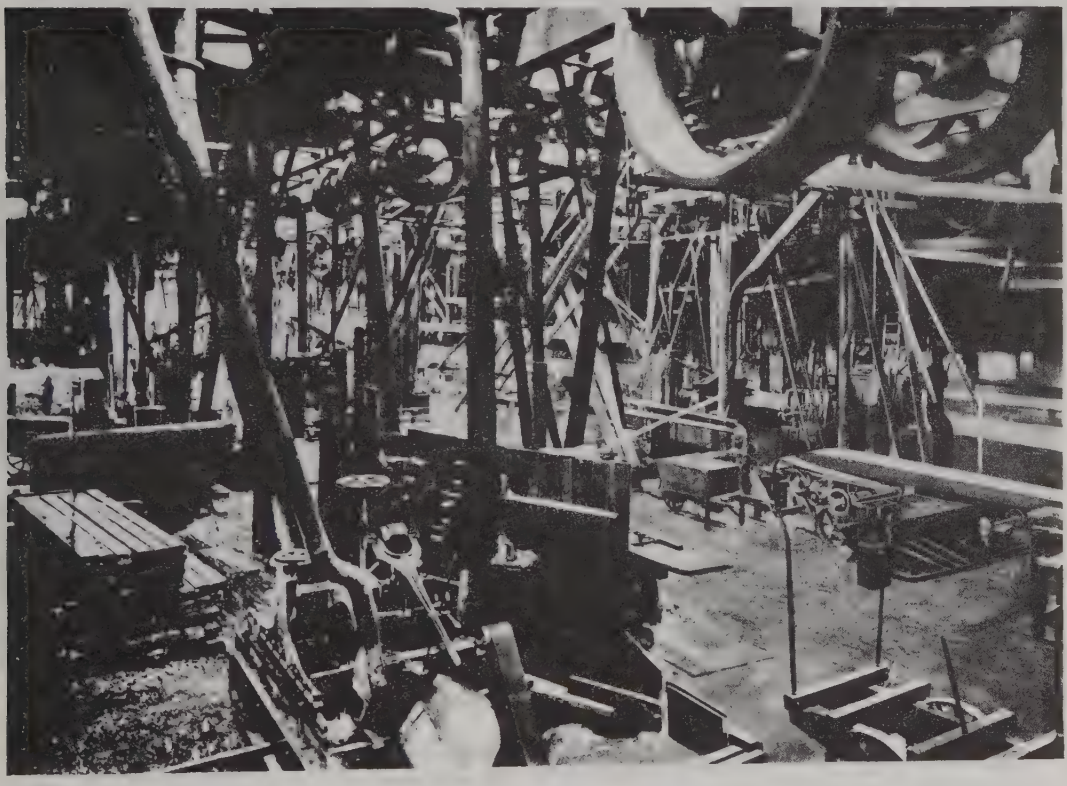
In 1871 the firm was incorporated as THE HASKELL & BARKER CAR COMPANY, the name by which it has from that date



VIEW IN MACHINE SHOP (AXLE TURNING AND MACHINE BORING)

been known. At the time of its incorporation Frederick Haskell was made President, John Barker Treasurer, and Nathaniel P. Rogers Secretary. John H. Barker was the actual manager although without title until the office was created in June, 1879.

In 1879 the Haskell & Barker Car Company had increased their capacity so that they had 500 men on the pay rolls,



VIEW IN WOOD SHOP

and their output was 1,000 cars a year. They had long ago given up the construction of anything except freight cars.

In 1883 Frederick Haskell retired by the sale of his interests, and John H. Barker became President, with Nathaniel P. Rogers Secretary and Treasurer, who remained in this position until his death.

In 1864 Nathaniel P. Rogers became connected with the company as an accountant, and remained with it throughout its long career till the time of his death. Mr. Rogers was born in Plymouth, New Hampshire, November 22, 1838, of illustrious American ancestry. His great grandfather, the Reverend John Rogers, was graduated from Harvard College in 1732. His grandfather, Dr. John Rogers, was graduated from Harvard in 1776, and moved to Plymouth, New Hampshire, in 1781. His father, Dr. Samuel Rogers, studied and practiced medicine there. His uncle, for whom he was named, was not only a distinguished lawyer by profession but was known throughout the United States as a philanthropist; he was editor of the New Hampshire Statesman and was associated with William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Horace Greeley in the abolition movement; writing, his non de plume was "The Old Man of the Mountains." Mr. Nathaniel Peabody Rogers had a wide acquaintance in the

country, and thousands of men and firms having business with him felt that, by his matchless tact in conducting correspondence, they had come into close touch with him. His counsel was of great value, his judgment was of the best and he was a potent factor in bringing the Haskell & Barker Car Company into its present condition. He saw the car works grow from infancy to strong manhood, and he gave a fostering care to the interests of Michigan City also. He was always foremost in inaugurating and carrying forward any beneficial object, in public enterprises he was one of the first to be called, and without his untiring energy the city would have lacked many of its attractions and adornments today. Mr. Rogers died universally loved and mourned, on Saturday, December 1st, 1906.

VIEW OF BLACKSMITH SHOP

In 1903 the payroll was $100,000.00 a month, they had 2,200 employees, and a yearly capacity of 10,667 cars.

On January 30, 1907, Mr. Charles Porter was elected Secretary, and the same year Mr. W. J. McBride, formerly Vice President of the American Car and Foundry Company, was elected to fill the newly created office of Vice President of the Haskell & Barker Car Company.

The Haskell & Barker Car Company is the most complete factory for the construction of freight cars in the United States, and employs more men than any manufacturing establishment in the state of Indiana. Its plant covers more than one hundred acres, it has three thousand five hundred men on a pay roll approximating $150,000.00 a month, uses one hundred million feet of lumber, one hundred and fifty thousand tons of iron for wheels, axles, plates, bars, structural material and other minor items, seventy-five thousand tons of coal, of which twenty-five thousand tons come from Indiana mines, and can count its output at 15,000 cars a year.

If placed on one track these freight cars would form a solid train one hundred and twenty miles long, stretching two times between Michigan City and Chicago; and, reckoning forty tons to a car, would carry in one load the entire United States Navy with its six hundred thousand tons displacement.

Here there is less assembling done than in other plants, because everything is made on the spot excepting springs, axles which are forged in the rough else-

where, and couplers which are supplied by the railroads ordering the cars.

Within the yards are forty-five buildings consecutively numbered, and the freight car in its manufacture passes through many of them before it is finished. The five great departments are called:

THE FOUNDRIES,
THE IRON WORKING SHOPS,
THE WOOD WORKING SHOPS,
THE ERECTING SHOPS,
THE PAINT SHOPS.

Besides these, are:

THE PATTERN DEPARTMENT,

RIVETING SHOP

THE REPAIR DEPARTMENT,
THE YARDS.

THE FOUNDRIES.

Wm. Hamilton, Superintendent.

Today the Foundries are composed of the Malleable Iron Foundry begun fifteen years ago, the Wheel Foundry, the Gray Iron Foundry, and the Brass Foundry. They occupy six buildings and employ 800 men including night and day forces, with ten foremen and five clerks for record and time keeping work.

The Malleable Iron Foundry has a capacity of 140 tons a day.

The Wheel Foundry has a capacity of 450 33-in. wheels a day, averaging in weight 650 pounds each.

The Gray Foundry has a capacity of 50 tons a day.

The Brass Foundry has a capacity of five tons a day.

In the Malleable Foundry five open hearth and four reverberating furnaces are used for melting, with a melting capacity of ten to twenty-five tons each; there are also 30 annealing ovens with a capacity ranging from fifteen to twenty-five tons each. In the open hearth furnaces producer gas is used, which is made in the company's own gas plant.

In the Wheel Foundry are operated two 92-in. cupolas and 170 annealing pits.

In the Gray Iron Shop one 72-in. cupola is used for melting.

In the Brass Foundry an Air Refining Furnace is used.

One hundred and fifty tons of coal are consumed each day in the Foundries, while ninety tons of brick are each week required to keep the ovens in repair.

THE IRON WORKING SHOPS.

The Iron Working Shops employ 500

men, occupying six buildings, and are composed of the Blacksmith Shop, the Machine Shop and the Structural Steel Working Shop.

The Blacksmith Shop is divided into the departments for Wrought Iron Forgings, the Bolt-making department, and the Riveting department.

In the department for Wrought Iron Forgings ten of the old men blacksmiths

One large pair of rolls for making levers, and

One machine for making nuts.

In the Bolt-making department, are:

Thirteen bolt heading machines,

Four shearing machines, and

Three eye-bender machines.

In the Riverting department are:

Three hydraulic riveting machines, and

VIEW IN THE BOLT THREADING SHOP

are retained, but the mechanical equipment consists of eight Bradley hammers, four large steam hammers and one drop hammer of 1100 pounds. There are:

Five bending machines called Bulldozers, one of which bends a sheet of iron 10 inches by 1½ to the shape required;

Two large forging machines,

Two large shearing machines,

One large straightening machine,

Eleven compressed air riveting machines.

In the Machine Shop are made all rod iron materials for the cars; here all drilling, punching and work of this nature is done, and here the rough axles are finished, and the wheels placed on them.

The equipment consists of:

Fifteen lathes for the axles, and

Six boring machines for the wheels.

POURING METAL

THE BULLDOZER

THE WOOD WORKING SHOPS.

All the timber is cut to size before it reaches the factory, but here it is prepared and made ready for assembling. There are fifteen boilers and six engines, and two air compressers, supplying power by which the material is lifted and the machinery operated.

The Wood Working Shops have two divisions, that for

Heavy Wood Work and

The Planing Mill.

In the Heavy Wood Work division are about 225 men in one building. These men operate

Ten saws (by electricity),

Six timber planers,

Six hollow chisel mortises, and

Thirty boring machines.

In the Planing Mill are one hundred men in one building, who operate:

Fourteen planers,

Six cut-off saws, and

Three rip saws.

THE ERECTING SHOPS.

Here the car itself is made. After the wheels are cast, and the now finished axles are fitted to them they are dragged into this erecting or setting up shop, a building over fifteen hundred feet long.

The processes in assembling and construction are:

The making of truck,

Of bodies,

Of frames, and

Of roofs.

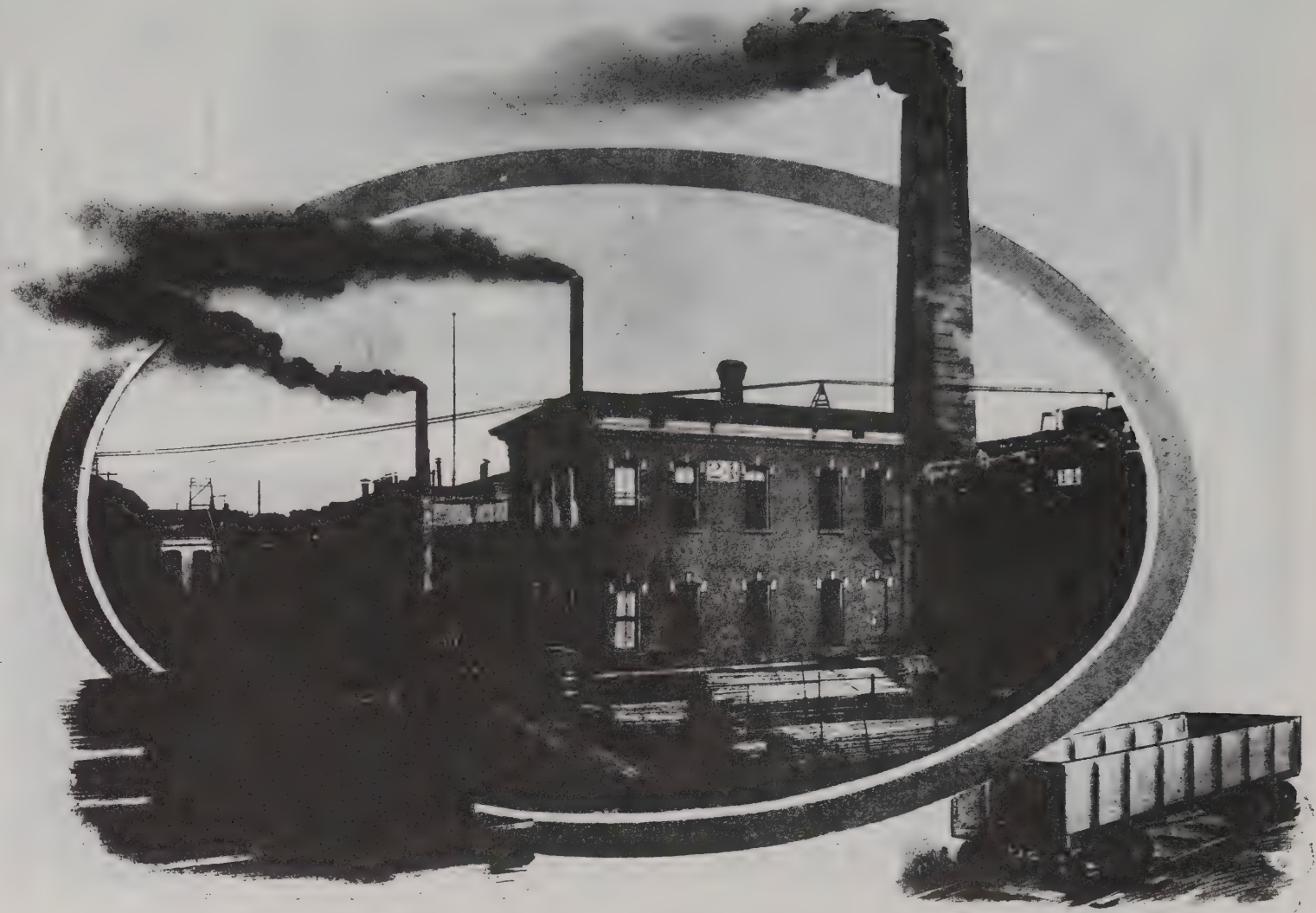
One thousand men are engaged in these processes. The trucks are put together at one end of the building, and upon them is laid the floor from timbers already furnished to size from the Wood Working Shop. On the floor is erected the body of the car with its wood and iron rods and braces; the car is then posted, as making the frame is called The roof is constructed separately and carried on an overhead trolley to the body, upon which it is properly adjusted.

ERECTING SHOP

THE PAINT SHOPS.

Each car receives the first rough coats of paint, then the finishing coat of the color preferred by the road to which the car goes. The final touch is given by the stencil, which letters the road's name, its official number, capacity and size, and the manufacturer's name.

The wheels, before they are accepted by their purchasers, are subjected to pre-



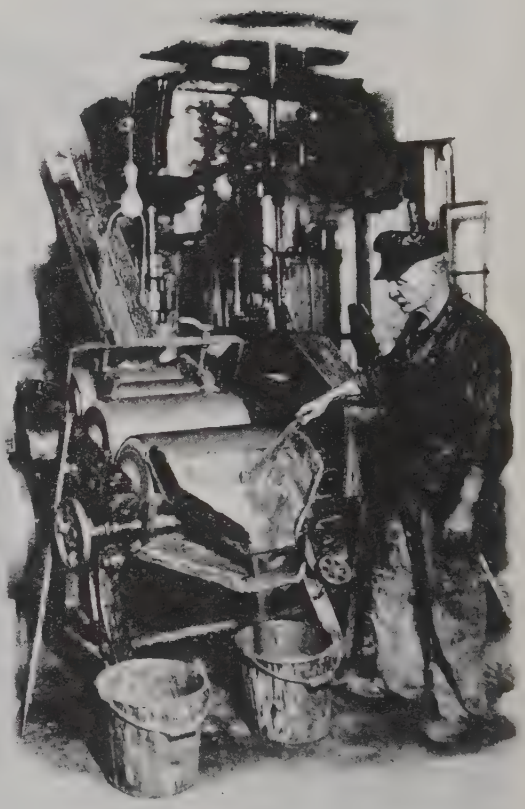
THE HASKELL & BARKER CAR COMPANY OFFICE

cise analytical and physical tests established by the companies to whom they are sold, and their average life is well understood, but wheels have been known to run 200,000 miles before being declared unsafe. In special wheels for fast or time freight cars, a mileage guaranty is given to cover 60,000 miles. A thirty ton car takes a 600 pound wheel, a forty ton car a 650 pound wheel, and a fifty ton car a 700 pound wheel.

THE PATTERN DEPARTMENT.

Patterns for all pieces used, and for every railroad ordering cars, are kept here classified and labeled. Two buildings are reserved for the purpose, and twenty pattern makers are engaged.

JACOB SEEGER, OLDEST FOREMAN



THE PAINT MILL

THE REPAIR DEPARTMENT.

Three buildings and a force of 100 men are necessary to keep in order the apparatus of the shops. Everything used by a machinist, a carpenter, a tinsmith and a mason is here repaired or replenished, and the cars themselves, if they seem defective, are given a final overhauling, but seldom are cars repaired after having left the yards, since they then receive, in the shop of the purchasing railroad, any attention required.

THE YARDS.

Within the Yards is a complete railroad system of itself. Five hundred men, four engines, twenty-four horses and 110 cars are used in the various activities

connected with the construction of a freight car.

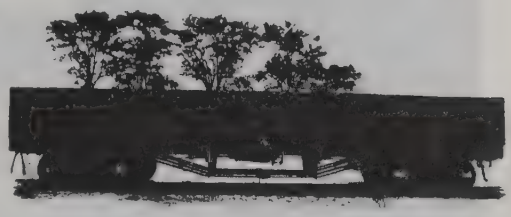
The average number of outside cars unloaded a month, with material purchased for supplies, may be taken as 1125, in the proportion almost of one car of coal to four of lumber and seven of iron.

The Haskell & Barker Car Company plant is a city. Here is a complete gas

ED KENT, OLDEST EMPLOYE

plant, electric power station, independent telephone service and fire plant.

Among these three thousand five hundred employees are a few who saw the earlier cars turned out before the civil war. Jake Seeger entered the service in 1859, a lad of fourteen, fresh from Germany; he joined the army in 1861, but soon after returned to the company



A FINISHED GONDOLA

and has been with it ever since. 'Old man' Ed Kent came here in 1860, and excepting for four years of the war has been continuously on the payrolls. Others can number their forty years, and their children add their energies to that of the parents. Some of the older employees are disappearing; only last year, on April 29, 1906, the consulting engineer, H. C. Williamson, passed away. He was born in Kiel, Germany, of old Danish stock from the Baltic, July 12, 1836. He came to the United States when sixteen years old, working as a machinist in Cincinnati and elsewhere, but in 1870 he began work at the factory; he was advanced from foreman of the foundries to the position he occupied at his death. Many of the patents owned by the Haskell & Barker Company he alone, or with the cooperation of Herman Pries, now general superintendent, invented and the industry owes much to his creative skill.

A FINISHED BOX CAR

VIEW IN PRESIDENT BARKER'S PRIVATE OFFICE, SHOWING HIM IN CONFERENCE WITH VICE PRESIDENT McBRIDE

THE LATE N. P. ROGERS.

Instances of two generations working side by side are not uncommon, and three generations have at the same time responded to the morning whistle. This note has been sounded almost every working day for fifty-five years.

From the first, in 1852, many of the employees were of sturdy German stock, and their descendants have spread from here over a great part of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. In later years the migration has been rather from eastern Europe and even from Syria, but each workman receives the courtesy which is his due.

This personal interest extends not only to the employees, but through them to the place itself, where they live. There is this advantage over a large city, that the factory is not lost in its surroundings. No attempt is made here to supervise or to influence the life outside working hours, but Michigan City would not be what it is if this industry were not a part of it. The streets, the parks, the churches and the library and the hospitals are models of their kind, and everything has its share in the prosperity of the Haskell & Barker Car Company.

PAINT SHOP

CHAPTER XVIII.

Conclusion.

The historical part of this work now approaches its conclusion. Much that might have been written must be passed over for want of space, but in the preceding chapters it has been shown that Michigan City is "a city not without foundations," for it was born of a definite plan and purpose and its location was chosen for particular reasons. The little stream which came down from the interior marshes to the sandy platform on the lake and offered at its mouth the most favorable site for a harbor and commercial city which Indiana possessed on its limited coast attracted the attention of public men throughout the state. For years uncounted the spot had been a camping ground on an important trail when the French first came to it and gave the stream its picturesque name, Riviere du Chemin, the river by the trail, which very probably was a translation of the Miami Indian name for the creek. The Miamis were at that time in possession of the region, having been settled there for several years. When they retired before the advance of the Pottawattomies their name for the stream was lost, but the new tribe at once adopted the name of the French, translating it into the Pottawattomie tongue as Meh-wy, and so it was known in the tribe for more than a hundred years. The Americans on their arrival, after struggling with the French name for a time in various corrupt forms, such as Dishmaugh, finally converted it into good English and called it Trail Creek.

Here Elston placed his town, knowing that a city must grow up on the spot. He and his associates did not feel that the choice of the place as the seat of justice of the new county was essential to the ultimate success of the enterprise, for that rested upon the harbor and the great state road leading to it from the interior, but it was felt that such a choice would be an advantage and at first it was thought to be practically assured because there seemed to be no reason why any other town in the county should approach this one in size and importance. When Bishop Davenport, in 1832, was gathering the material for his "Pocket Gazetteer, or Traveller's Guide through North America and the West Indies," published in 1833 and extensively used by emigrants and prospectors, he received at Indianapolis such information as to lead him to insert this notice: "Michigan, town and capital LaPorte Co., Ia.," and in the notice of the county on another page he said, "County town, Michigan." This hopeful anticipation of the fact was doomed to disappointment, but doubtless it expressed the prevailing opinion at the state capital at the time.

The main point was that in the steady growth of the state from south to north, from the waters of the Ohio to the open navigation of the lake, a great city was bound to spring up at the point designated by the Michigan Road survey as the most eligible for a commercial port. The settlement of Madison began in 1811, Indianapolis was laid out as the capital

INTERIOR OFFICE VIEWS HASKELL & BARKER CAR CO.

in 1821 and in 1831 Michigan City was accepted as the third branch of the tripod of prosperity and its destiny was manifest.

All this had a modifying influence on the character of the city's founders and pioneer builders. Elston, the originator, Samuel Miller, the first permanent resident and business man, Joseph C. Orr, the first home-builder, and those who in 1833 and in the years following came to join in the commercial and industrial life of the place, were not frenzied speculators of the class which was so plentifully represented at that time in the middle west, but they were for the most part sober, calculating men of affairs who had reasoned the thing out and did not depend upon luck for the realization of their hopes. The few speculators who did stop to invest soon moved on to more exciting fields. In the business and social life of the village there was from the first a community of interest and a fixity of purpose which was largely lacking in most of the pioneer settlements of that restless and excited era. At the very beginning there was a feeling of permanence and of certainty, evidenced by the establishment of cultured homes, of schools, churches and social institutions, of hotels, shops and large stores, and by the undertaking of municipal improvements. Even the buildings demonstrated the spirit of the place, for frame houses were put up in the first year of settlement, 1833, and we have seen Charles Cleaver's testimony that in October of that year he found a brick building already occupied. The government preparations for the construction of the harbor were beginning, the Michigan Road was open and in use, a site for a lighthouse had been selected and deeded over and it was an early certainty—all these substantial prospects, together with the rapid settling of the region, were the sure foundations of the city, of which it might have been said, in Isaiah's words, "Thou art full of stirs, a tumultuous city, a joyous city."

The most modern improvement in use when Michigan City first came into being was the friction match. Candles continued to furnish the artificial light for years later. Pictorial mementoes of the life of the place at that stage are not available, for the photograph was unknown and even the daguerreotype did not arrive until after 1840. It was as late as Sept. 4, 1850, that several Michigan City people went over to Chicago to see the first gas lighting. The period of twenty years prior to the introduction of railways passed gently and placidly by, with the daily news of marriages, births, deaths, fires, vessel arrivals, and such small gossip as the only items of local interest. Yet these twenty years, from 1833 to 1852, were full of variety not always obtainable in other cities; they had here the lake, which was the great highway between the new and the old; the streets of the city were soon lined solidly with stores, warehouses, hotels and dwellings; the people dressed well, quite differently in fact from the simple coon skin and home spun of the interior of the state; many a day the inhabitants could find interest in watching the procession of wagons loaded with grain for shipment, entering the city from as far south as the Wabash, or coming with grain from as far west as Joliet, to be ground into flour by the mills on Trail Creek. But they were more ambitious than most inhabitants of western towns, and in addition to the schools and churches vigorously started, they invited hither men who were leaders in all intellectual movements. One of the foremost of these was Daniel Webster, who in 1837 predicted the future of Michigan City, and such orators as Henry Ward

Beecher and Wendell Phillips, such literateurs as John G. Saxe and Bayard Taylor, were welcome and appreciated guests in the community. Information traveled slowly in those days, and public thought and opinion were dependent upon such sources, because the newspapers could not supply the larger knowledge possessed by such eminent men. There was no railway, no telegraph till 1847, and the mails came lumbering through the woods or across the prairies.

A large and interesting chapter might be written concerning the roads, stages and mails of the early days, did space permit. The occupation of Fort Dearborn in 1804 created the first necessity for regular communication through this region, the facilities prior to that time having been limited to such traders, missionaries or Indians as chanced to be traveling that way. With the arrival of the soldiers military lines were opened to Detroit and Fort Wayne, following the lake shore to Trail Creek, then by the trail to the old Sac trail, and by that to Detroit or diverging from it by the Dragoon trace to Fort Wayne. Soldiers and Indians were employed in the service. Chief Winamac was so engaged when he carried orders for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn just prior to the massacre in 1812. Private John Bemis was a regular military messenger after the re-occupation of the fort, chosen because of his strength, courage, sobriety and resourcefulness. These qualities and his experience led to his selection as a guide for Long's expedition in 1823, on which journey he camped the party at the mouth of Trail Creek. In 1832 at Fond du Lac, while serving as military guide, he slipped and fell while carrying a full keg of pork across a portage and spent a year in hospital at Fort Dearborn, after which he was discharged for disability. His trips were made on foot. A little later the name of Louie, or French Louie, begins to appear in some of the writings. He was a regular mail-carrier eastward from Fort Dearborn when the first settlers began to appear in LaPorte county, and he also traveled on foot and camped on Trail Creek. On one of his trips in the winter of 1831-2, made on snow-shoes, he came upon the frozen corpse of Mary Garroutte, who had perished with cold while returning to her home in Wills township after visiting a sick friend in St. Joseph county. The body was partially eaten by wolves when Louie found it and drove them away. Cotemporary with Louie was Victor, "a frizzly little Frenchman," who was also a foot-courier for several years and about 1833 undertook to drive a team for the new mail contractor; not being accustomed to horses, and having a temperamental attraction toward the lady settlers who began to increase in numbers along his route, he failed in this employment and went west.

Bemis brought mail into Chicago from the east about once a month. In 1826 David McKee, a military blacksmith who had come to Fort Dearborn with Long's expedition, contracted to carry the army mail between that post and Fort Wayne and rode express until late in 1828, his route being by way of Trail Creek and Niles. He rode a pony and carried a mail pouch and camping outfit, depending largely upon his rifle for subsistence. His young bride, Wealthy, a relative of Samuel Miller, sometimes accompanied him in fine weather. He had a camping place at Hoosier Slide. His trip took from ten to fourteen days.

In 1830 a weekly mail was established between Fort Wayne and South Bend. In 1831 there was yet no post road to Chicago and the mail was carried from Niles on horseback via Michigan City monthly; from Niles east there was a

line of "mud-wagons" running every three weeks. In the following spring Mr. Savary of White Pigeon put on a daily line of post coaches between Niles and Tecumseh and a weekly service to Chicago was undertaken. In that year there were two mail routes opened in LaPorte county—No. 46, Niles to Chicago, 90 miles, weekly on horseback; and No. 1462, Detroit to Chicago, 195 miles, three weekly four-horse stages. Bad roads prevented the successful conduct of the latter; the former cost $9,369 for the year. In 1833, March, a weekly line of stages between Detroit and Chicago was put in operation, going on the hard sand beach west of Michigan City. The advertised time for the trip was five days. At that time the government road from Detroit to the Indian state line, by the Sac trail, was being improved and the Michigan Road was open, but the journey occupied six or even seven days more often than five.

The postal receipts at Michigan City up to March 31, 1834, amounted to $11.33, the office having been open but a few weeks with Samuel Miller as postmaster. He secured a weekly horseback service to LaPorte that spring and a separate service to Twenty-mile Prairie. A direct stage line to South Bend was also begun. Citizens of Chicago and Michigan City petitioned the Postmaster General for better postal facilities and more frequent mails. In this year French Louie was thrown out of a job by the abolishment of his pony express eastward from Chicago and John S. Trowbridge took a contract to haul the mails to Michigan City and Niles in a wagon. Trowbridge was afterward mayor of Little Rock, Arkansas, where he died. Louie was a little, short, stocky fellow and toward the end of his service the mails got to weighing thirty to forty pounds, which tested his capacity severely. He had to tie the bags on his pony and walk alongside, holding them in place. It was said that "the bags on the horse's back spread out like wings, making the pony look like some kind of a queer bird." Postage then was 25 cents on a letter, collected usually on delivery. In 1822 there was not a house on the road between Fort Wayne and Chicago, but in 1834 it was thought to be quite thickly settled. One writer has said that the beach road from Michigan City to Chicago was just splendid when it was all right and could be traveled in six hours, but it was just horrible when it was all wrong, in dry weather, and took six days. Among the passengers from Detroit to Michigan City one day in 1834 were Lemuel Fitch and his young bride, parents of L. S. Fitch of Oakwood. In the season of 1835 Chicago and Michigan City had an eastern mail every other day by light wagons. In "Peck's Guide to Emigrants," 1835, the following passage occurs:

"Individuals who wish to travel through the interior of Indiana, etc., will find that the most convenient, sure, economical and independent mode is on horseback. Their expenses will be from 75 cents to $1.50 per day, and they can always consult their own convenience and pleasure as to times and places. Stage fare is usually six cents per mile, in the West. Meals, at stage-houses, are 37½ cents. * * * * Emigrants and travelers will find it to their interest always to be a little skeptical relative to statements of stage, steam and canalboat agents, to make some allowance in their own calculations for delays, difficulties and expenses, and above all, to *feel* perfectly patient and in good humor with themselves, the officers, company, and the world, even if they do not move quite as rapid and fare quite as well as they desire."

The earliest advertisements of stage lines passing through Michigan City ap-

RESIDENCE OF JOHN H. BARKER

peared in the Chicago American in January, 1836, as follows:

"Mail coaches between Detroit and Chicago will leave the New York House, Chicago, for Detroit, every other day, commencing Monday, Jan. 11, at 5 a. m. Persons wishing seats will apply to F. Tuttle, agent, or to Mr. Johnson at the New York House."

January 23 an opposition line was announced:

"Winter arrangements from Chicago to Detroit in three and one-half days. Proprietors, D. G. Jones, J. W. Brown, W. E. Boardman, R. A. Forsyth, O. Saltmarsh and S. Spafford."

August 20 Tuttle advertised the removal of the stage office to Dearborn street one door north of the Tremont House, with daily departures and arrivals of comfortable stages.

One of the regular drivers on the mail route between Detroit and in Chicago in the early days was James Adams, who in January, 1837, made the record trip by horse power over that 284-mile road. As an incident of the Patriots' War in Canada he was sent to Chicago after soldiers for the defense of Detroit. Governor Mason arranged for the vehicle, a good sleigh, and General Brady loaned the messenger a pair of good fur gloves. He left at 4 p. m. under instructions to push through in twenty-four hours if possible, regardless of horseflesh. The relays were ten to fifteen miles apart and at each one he took the best horse in the stable and dashed on without delay for food or water. At 4 p. m. the next day he changed horses at Michigan City and flew down the Chicago road leaving the citizens gaping and wondering why there should be such urgent public need of haste, and at 8 he reached Chicago, twenty-eight hours from the starting point. He delivered his message to Captain Jamison at the fort, who at once secured all the available vehicles in town and rushed the desired troops to Detroit over the Michigan City road. Adams was afterward a prominent citizen of Lake county.

In this year, by a contract taken by John H. Bradley of LaPorte, a regular weekly service between Michigan City and Indianapolis by way of LaPorte, Plymouth, Chippeway and Logansport, was established. Mails were then running daily between Indianapolis and South Bend, through Plymouth, and between Michigan City and LaPorte. By connecting LaPorte with Plymouth it was hoped that a daily service would eventually be given on that route, which was ultimately brought about. Mr. Bradley sublet to Erastus Ingersol of Marshall county, for $350 a year, that part of his contract between LaPorte and Chippewa to commence May 9, 1837. The original contract is owned by the LaPorte County Historical society. Sprague & Teall, a Michigan City forwarding and merchandising firm of great prominence, purchased the Chicago-Michigan City division of the stage line and operated it successfully during several years.

For several months in 1840 the Indianapolis newspapers displayed in the quaint type of that period illustrated with cuts of index prizes and Concord coaches, the following advertisement:

U. S. MAIL.

For Loganport, LaPorte, Michigan City, Chicago, South Bend and Detroit.

Those lines are now in full operation, having been fitted up in a style that is not surpassed for speed and comfort by any line of stages in the West, with Troy coaches and good teams. Great care has been taken to select careful and

experienced drivers. Every exertion will be made by the proprietors to make this line worthy of public patronage.

WINTER ARRANGEMENTS

Time of Staging.

Leaves Indianapolis as usual on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, immediately after the arrival of the Madison Mail—say 3 o'clock a. m.; arrives at Logansport next evening; third day reach Plymouth, and fourth day LaPorte, where they meet a daily stage (morning and evening) to Michigan City, which connects with daily lines from Chicago and Detroit.

☞During the winter this whole distance from Indianapolis to LaPorte will be run over in four days instead of three.☜

Office at Jordan's, Indianapolis.
Office at Crumley's, Logansport.

T. SQUIER,
For J. T. DOUGLASS & Co.

January 3, 1840.

A glimpse of travel at this period is afforded by a letter written by Joseph Lomax to Wilbur F. Story and published in the LaPorte Herald, which the two gentlemen owned and edited. The Democratic state convention of 1840 convened January 8 and Mr. Lomax was a delegate. In company with half a dozen political friends, W. W. Taylor of Michigan City being one of them, they left LaPorte in a sleigh "after that important hour vulgarly denominated dinner-time" on New Year's day. The weather and sleighing were fine. After sunset "we prowled our way into the village of Plymouth;" at noon next day Rochester was reached and late at night Logansport. Thence early the next morning they proceeded on foot, occasionally riding on log sleds or market carts. At noon January 7, after a journey of a week, they arrived at the capital, having made better time than the stage.

By a new arrangement becoming effective April 3, 1843, Michigan City received a service which gave three stages a week for Chicago and Detroit, the line being owned and managed by Miller & Co. In the advertisements at this time a favorite phrase was: "Good coaches, with steady, moral, and careful drivers and the best of horses."

John Elam, father of the present John W. Elam of Valparaiso, ran the stage line on one division between Michigan City and Logansport for several years in the fifties. Eason Wilcox, for many years an honored resident of Hebron, Porter county, drove the first stage between Michigan City and Valparaiso direct at the same period, and Milo Warner then operated lines between the two places by way of LaPorte. As the country grew there came to be more and more profit in the mail contracts on the stage lines and competition in the bidding was fierce. In May, 1858, there were forty bids for single routes in northwestern Indiana. McCracken, Webb, Seaton & Co., had come into control of many lines and on that date secured a large number of contracts, one of which was for a daily service by hack between Michigan City and LaPorte for $297 a year.

When General James Wilkinson sent his scouts from where Lafayette is now into the Indian country in 1791, probably the first white Americans to enter LaPorte county, they followed an Indian trail almost due north, crossing the Kankakee at the foot of English Lake, where there was a French trading post, and proceeding to Trail Creek, where they turned by the eastern trail to Niles. In May, 1810, the same route was followed by a messenger sent from Vincennes by Governor Harrison to treat with the Pottawattomies for friendship. In May, 1828, when Joe Truckee, the experienced half-breed guide, conducted the Michi-

gan Road commissioners to the lake on their first expedition, he chose the same route, and the first preliminary survey they made for the road, started June 12, 1828, at the mouth of Trail Creek, followed very closely upon that old trail, crossing the Kankakee at the foot of English Lake in the thirty-second mile from the starting-point. The field-notes mention "an old Indian trading established" at the crossing.

On pages 66 and 70 of this book it is stated that the route followed by the survey just mentioned was that of the old Yellow River trail to Logansport. That statement was made on the authority of previous writers but since it was put in print the present author has examined the original field notes in the state auditor's office and finds that the facts are as here given. The first line run for the road was west of the line subsequently chosen in its entire distance from the lake to Indianapolis. The original route was used after the Michigan Road commissioners abandoned it. General Joseph Orr and Peter White both moved their families into LaPorte county on that road in 1832 and the Andrew steam sawmill at LaPorte was brought that way the same year. The trading post was then still in operation and Michael Cadieux was the owner of it.

The Michigan Road, as has been already stated, grew out of an Indian treaty of 1826. Prior to that, in 1821, the same tribes, in a treaty at Chicago, gave the government the right to make and use a road to Chicago from Detroit and Fort Wayne. This road through Michigan City was never improved by the government below the Indian state line, but it was in use as a foot path and to some extent for horses. Even as early October, 1817, Samuel A. Storrow, judge advocate general of the army, traversed it on horseback, and there are records of several such journeys prior to 1830, though Mark Beaubien in 1826 and Jerry Church in 1830 said there was no road at Michigan City them.

It was recognized that highways were essential to development and as soon as the choice of a lake harbor to be improved had been made steps were taken to connect the spot with the interior by other lines than the Michigan Road, which was the first to be authorized and opened. The Western Gazetteer for 1817 had said of the Riviere du Chemin that it had forty miles of navigable water (for canoes), and that there was in use a portage of four miles connecting it with the Little Kennomic (Calumet), and this impression was a further inducement to get land communication to it. Thus it came about that before the county was erected or the Indian title to the land was extinguished the state legislature authorized the survey of a road from Lafayette to the mouth of Trail Creek and appointed Lismund Bayes of Lafayette as the commissioner. This was February 10, 1831, and the road as contemplated was to cross the Kankakee at the lower end of English Lake and come north through Tassinong. But this route could be of slight convenience, being too far west of the settlements, so the county commissioners appropriated $400 to aid in the survey of a road to the south located on the Yellow River trail. An Indian ferry had been established at the Kankakee on that trail a year or two earlier and this year John Dunn took the ferry and built a bridge in its place as soon as Andrew Burnside, acting for the county, laid out the road that way, which he did in May and June. The Black Hawk scare in May emphasized the military necessity for the immediate construction of highways and from that time forward the county commissioners

A WORK OF ART—FRONT ENTRANCE TO THE RESIDENCE OF JOHN H. BARKER

were very busy in road matters, receiving numerous petitions and appointing many viewers. January 1, 1833, Andrew Burnside was directed by the legislature to locate a road from Trail Creek to Yellow River by way of LaPorte, which he accordlingly did, and his map and field notes may be seen in the county auditor's office, together with his bill for $120.50. In the meantime the Lafayette road of 1831 was under way and it was desirable to give LaPorte and Michigan City a connection by means of that, so, March 4, 1833, a petition was filed with the county commissioners for a way to lead from about Door Village "to the forks of Trail Creek at the point where the Lafayette road crosses said creek." Viewers were appointed and on their report, May 20, the construction was ordered.

Michigan City's busy year was 1834. The town grew rapidly, farm products came in beyond all expectation, lake traffic was heavy and the harbor and lighthouse questions were being pressed at Indianapolis and Washington. In January congress was asked to inquire into the expediency of making Michigan City a port of entry and a resolution to that effect, out of which nothing came, was adopted. The urgent need of more roads was readily apparent. On February 1 the legislature empowered John M. Lemon and others to build a toll bridge across the Kankakee on the Yellow River state road where the Dunn bridge was and also appointed Elisha Newell a commissioner to locate a state highway from Michigan City east and west parallel with the lake shore to the north and west state boundaries. March 3 freeholders of both cities prayed for another road, to pass south of "Storey Lake;" connecting Michigan City and LaPorte, and viewers were appointed, whose report was approved and the road was ordered May 5. In April the lake shore state road was reported and in September and November it was advanced through the legal requirements. Daniel McLeaming and Elisha Newell were the surveyors and Samuel Miller was appointed to represent the county, his pay to be $100. At the November term Samuel Miller, Samuel Olinger and Nathan Johnson were designated as viewers of a road from Michigan City to Door Village.

February 6, 1836, the governor signed an act authorizing Samuel Miller, John McCormick, Benjamin Reynolds, A. W. Harrison, Herman Lawson, Randolph S. Ford, Samuel Grimes, John Taylor, David Burr and William Teale, most of whom lived in Michigan City, to bridge the Kankakee on the Lafayette state road and to charge toll. The next day another legislative act authorized a relocation of a part of the road to suit the purposes of the bridge. The structure built pursuant to this act was burned in 1840. Nathan Johnson, the founder and owner of Waterford, was appointed road supervisor for Michigan township in 1835, to succeed David Sprague, removed, and his report for that year shows the names of 72 persons liable to road work at that time. He collected $71.50 and paid $16.00 for a plow.

The strong movement for railways began at this time, along with the state's misguided plunge in internal improvements. The legislature memorialized congress for a grant of land for a railway from Muncietown and Fort Wayne to Michigan City, and granted a charter for the Frankfort, Delphi and Michigan Railroad and Turnpike Co., with Samuel Miller, Jeremiah Bartholomew and Hiram Todd as the Michigan City incorporators, the road or pike to terminate at Michigan City. Congress, at the instance of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, ex-

pressed January 28, 1835, had authorized a survey to be made for a railway from Maumee Bay to the rapids of the Illinois, for building which it was proposed that a grant of five sections of land per mile be made. John B. Bailly, assistant civil engineer to the topographical bureau, did the work in the summer and fall of 1835 and reported January 14, 1836. His line was from Toledo, via South Bend, Michigan City and the mouth of the Kankakee to the terminal. This was the projected road which was incorporated February 7, 1835, as the Buffalo and Mississippi railroad, described in a former chapter. The report went very fully into a description of the country he passed through, including an extended scientific discussion of the origin and cause of sand dunes on the lake and a consideration of the agricultural conditions which must make Michigan City great. Of the city itself he said:

Lake Michigan will be the common highway of an immense country. It appeared manifest that the road would be more generally useful if it touched this lake. Michigan City being the only point on the southeast corner of the lake where a harbor can be constructed was necessarily the nearest point for the line to approach the lake. Michigan City has several hundred inhabitants in it and is increasing rapidly. It is supported by a rich country back, and from the fact of its being the only point on the lake, in Indiana ,where a harbor can be constructed, it will necessarily be the depot of a great deal of business. * * * * Trail Creek has cut a gap in the ridge [of sand hills] probably half a mile wide, affording a good opening to the lake for the town. I might remark of the country back of the ridge, that it is for the most part oak openings; but on the flats of Trail Creek there are groves of as fine timber as is found anywhere along the line; white pine timber occurs here of an excellent quality, affording an abundant supply for building. Immediately back, and along the front of the sand ridge mentioned above, there is a flat about a mile wide, extending from Michigan City to the Calumick River; it is covered with heavy timber in places, and in places with marsh prairie. The north end of it is drained by Trail Creek, the middle by a stream which puts into the lake, and the south end by the Calumick River.

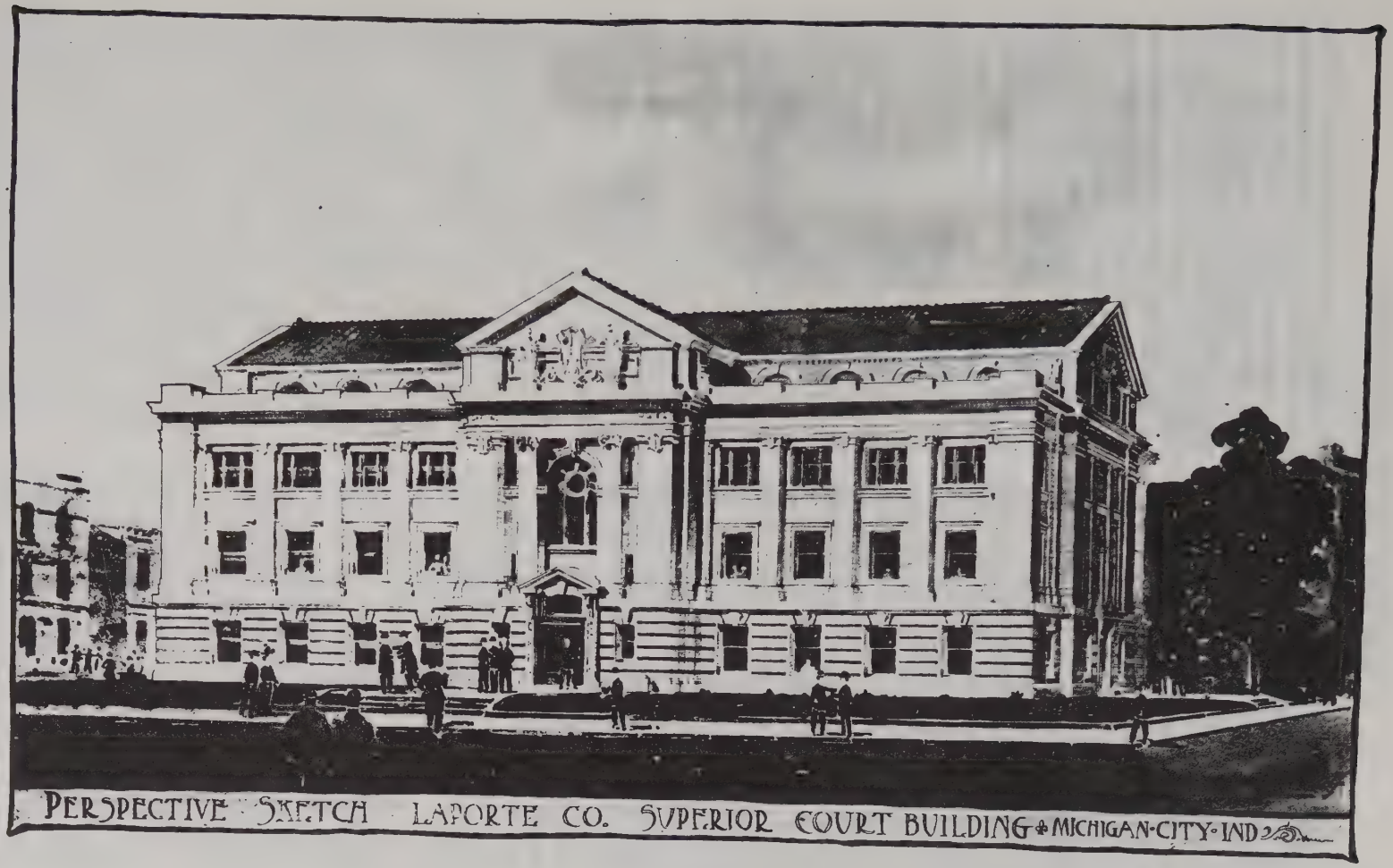
The publication of this report gave Michigan City one of the best advertisements it ever had, for at the time of the great panic of 1837, when the bottom fell out of real estate speculation everywhere, the report presented solid reasons why the town on Trail Creek must of necessity flourish and outlive its purely speculative neighbors.

The legislature of 1836 authorized two roads to Michigan City, one to the western boundary of the state by way of "Bayleytown, at the head of the navigable waters of the Calumet," the other to the seat of justice of Porter county when the same shall have been located. The county commissioners were called upon by a petition of citizens of Michigan City, extensively signed, to appropriate money to cover the balance of unpaid subscriptions for the construction of the Lafayette road and Kankakee bridge; it appeared that $2500 had been paid by subscribers, but some of them had died leaving about $700 of a deficit. It was in this same year that the new road from Chicago to Michigan City by a southern and more protected route away from the lake was opened by George Dolton and J. C. Matthews, by way of the ferry at Riverdale where six years later a bridge was built; this was known until recent times in the vicinity of southern Chicago as the Michigan City road. A ferry had been established near the mouth of the Calumet as early as 1830 but no bridge appeared there until 1839, about the time the Homer bridge at Hammond was

built. The road on the beach was almost the exclusive way between Michigan City and Chicago until these new routes were opened. Sometimes the wayfarers kept inland until they passed Bailly's hospitable and jovial establishment before they took to the shore. Among the new things of 1836 was the opening of Hubbard & Co.'s express office at Michigan City, this being a branch agency of a company which operated over the Detroit and Chicago stage lines. The firm subsequently became merged with one of the corporations which by consolidation became the Adams Express Company.

The city had by this time become the leading grain market of all Indiana north of the Wabash ,and even further south, and great caravans of wagons, often drawn by three or four ox teams, passed constantly through the streets. Three hundred teams have been counted as arriving in a day. The grain sold to local forwarders, the next thing was to convert the proceeds into goods of all kinds for the return trip, and so the exchange went on. It was a period of flush times on Trail Creek between 1836 and 1850. More roads were needed and betterment of the old ones. The county commissioners were never without demands for such purposes in behalf of Michigan City. In 1840 the state road from Sherwood's ferry on the Kankakee was authorized and in 1844 a state road from Morgan's Prairie was located. The era of plank roads opened about 1848. In the latter part of that year movements began looking toward the organization of several plank road companies in the county, the first of which was projected to connect Michigan City and LaPorte, and another to run from the former place to New Buffalo. January 20, 1849, the LaPorte Whig was able to commend the county commissioners for granting to the Union Plank Road Co. the right to build from Michigan City to LaPorte, via Walker's mill and General Orr's farm, with a branch from the latter point to Closser's corner, and one week later it informed the public that contracts for construction had been let, the work to be completed by autumn. Aurora Case was president of the company many years. The first tollgate keeper appointed was S. B. Wells, formerly of Michigan City, who held the gate just outside of LaPorte for nine years. As this was the first plank road company in the county, so also was it the last; it was abandoned by a vote of the company taken August 3, 1863, at which time C. B. Blair was president and D. J. Baldwin secretary. Among other such roads operating out of Michigan City were the Southern Plank Road Co., Ezekiel Folsom, president, incorporated in 1850, to operate from Michigan City to Valparaiso via Beatty's, Clyburn and Squatham; the Michigan City and South Bend, incorporated in 1851, and a road to Winamac, by the lower end of English Lake, chartered in 1851.

August Siegele used to tell how, when he came to the city in 1850, he found the last stage of the road from New Buffalo so bad with deep sand that it was almost impossible to travel. Jacob Weiler, who came in the same year, said that the town was small then, and all about was wild and marshy, with almost impassable roads. Much testimony might be adduced to show that such was the condition from the beginning, but this branch of the story may be dismissed with the statements of two who came when the town was ten years old, and they may be quoted in full in order to present a general view of the place at that time. And first, Addison J. Phillips, who arrived by water October 8, 1842, having voyaged from Chicago in an old hooker; in addi-



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH LAPORTE CO. SUPERIOR COURT BUILDING ✦ MICHIGAN CITY IND

tion to the statement concerning the bad roads of the period, he said:

There was a sort of harbor below at that time, but it had been allowed to decay, and I remember that there were many warehouses strung along a dock that was six feet high. We landed at the Hitchcock warehouse, right at the bend where the old packing house was. I remember we had to put barrels up on our lighter for the women folks to land at that dock. The creek had been dredged out some distance and some piers had been constructed, but these had been wrecked by storms. Then C. B. Blair, John Barker and others built piers for the shipment of wheat. Why, not many now know that in those days more wheat, pork and lard were shipped from this port than were shipped from Chicago. These two rooms (designating the main part of his dwelling) were built by Elston for the land office. The building stood at Pine and Michigan streets, but has been moved six or seven times. Under this roof the first white person was born in Michigan City. Her name was Sarah Flint, and she married William Miller, a grocer, who died long ago. Game was plentiful in those days. I was held up once on the hill where M. T. Krueger's residence is by a pack of a dozen wolves. Deer, prairie chickens and geese were numerous. Charles Freeman once shot a deer on the very top of Hoosier Slide. You could buy wild geese in the market for a shilling a piece, prairie hens for fifty cents a dozen, and quails for half a dollar a half bushel; venison was no treat at all, and we could hardly sell it on the market.

Six months later came Addison Ballard, also just about of age, with a small bundle and a "long sixpence," traveling from Chicago by land; he said:

No house in sight from Monroe street, Chicago, to Miller's station and the Calumet lighthouse surrounded by a few Indian wigwams. The landlord was going to Michigan City in a wagon the next day, so I went along. The city was nestled among barren sand hills on the lake shore. Great warehouses were beside the lake with their signs that read, "Forwarding and Commission." They received the products from the interior, and when wind and weather permitted with their scows and lighters with large baskets and boxes, the grain, etc., was sent out to a vessel anchored at safe distance to cut loose and run in case of storm. It was in this tedious and crude manner as compared with modern ways that Michigan City did her part and was the only port in Indiana that could do this work and distribute back the money and imported goods to all the rich agricultural country of LaPorte and adjoining counties.

Another interesting and important chapter, which might be written at length did space admit, concerns the military activities in and about Michigan City. Brief mention may be given the several companies participating in actual wars, but other military organizations, formed at various times in the city, and seeing no service save that of mimic warfare, must be passed over.

The state constitution of 1816 provided for a militia organization and the first legislature passed the laws necessary to make it effective. There was little record kept, however, and the first knowledge we have of military activity in LaPorte county concerns the names of some who were closely allied with Michigan City. In 1832 General Joseph Orr, Captain Eliakim Ashton and others, of the state militia, took up arms to repel the threatened invasion of Blackhawk. Jeremiah Wilson, of Hudson township, was a lieutenant of the state militia from 1836 to 1853, a proof that there was some organization in the neighborhood, but it did not touch Michigan City itself. The Indians were gone, and no enemy was present to disturb the routine of social or business life. The state passed various acts in 1840, 1842, 1844, to attempt to arouse a militia spirit, but only such a crisis as the Mexican War could stir the people into a desire to join a

regiment. In 1846, on May 13, after the announcement that our territory had been invaded, war was declared and volunteers called for; so eager were the citizens of Indiana to respond to that call, that besides the necessary three full regiments twenty-two additional companies were organized. A second call on April 24, 1847, admitted a regiment from northern Indiana and in it was Company I, Northern Rangers, of LaPorte County, the captain of which was Robert Fravel. Its officers were Colonel Willis A. Gorman, Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Dumont, Major Wm. M. McCoy, Adj Edward Cole, Sergt. Maj. Joseph Combs, Q. M. Sergt. T. M. Smith, temporary surgeons Drs. Brown and Finley, some of these being from Michigan City.

At the end of the war the military spirit died out; new laws proved ineffective, and an organization of county regiments and congressional district brigades, tried in 1853, failed to arouse interest. The arms were mislaid or lost, and repeated efforts on the part of the state, could not collect them.

The civil war caused a veritable stampede for the recruiting camps in 1861. Indiana was totally unprepared for active service, the reported strength of the militia being under 500 men, and but little information was on file in the office of the adjutant general, while less than 500 stand of small arms, with eight pieces of dismantled and weather-worn cannon and a few old flintlocks, were scattered through the counties. Then the law for the formation of the Indiana Legion was passed in 1861, the second division of which included one LaPorte county company. Many men, however, whether enlisted in a home regiment or not, soon joined themselves to the United States volunteers; the roll of these amounts to 208,367.

The first company to leave Michigan City was the Michigan City rifles, Company B, with William H. Blake Captain, Asahel K. Bush, First Lieutenant, and Alson Bailey, Second Lieutenant. They were presented with a United States flag by the citizens, the company being drawn up and answering to roll call, Miss Ann Hartwell presenting it with a speech. This flag was the first to float over Laurel Hill. This company with another from LaPorte reached Camp Morton in time to join the Ninth Regiment; they went south and participated in the first campaign of West Virginia under the command of Colonel R. H. Gilroy. At the close of three months' service they returned and were reorganized for three years' service. Near Michigan City was Camp Anderson just below the Boyer farm. Here the soldiers were drilled, and here society gathered at the proper hour to show its enthusiasm and patriotism. Another, the 35th Regular (1st Irish) regiment soon left for the front. This was commanded by Colonel John C. Walker, whose destination was Kentucky. When they came to Indianapolis, on the 2nd of December, 1861, they were presented with a beautiful flag made by the ladies of LaPorte, on this occasion Miss Ellen Hathaway delivering the speech.

Many details of this war time must be noted. It was shown in 1861 that at the first call for troops no law existed authorizing counties to assist needy families of volunteers, but soon after the passage of a proper law the county board appropriated $2000.00 for relief and appointed General Joseph Orr as agent. In 1862 the board offered a bounty of $25.00 to each volunteer of the 73rd regiment then forming and to like members of a battery, but it was later thought best to change this to an appropriation of $10,000.00 to provide for families of volunteers. Reginald H. Rose, the county

treasurer, was made the agent in this case. Thus did the county strive to aid the war both by sending soldiers to the front and by providing for those left behind. Loans to soldiers or to their families were to be without interest. Michigan City acted patriotically in this matter; the inhabitants raised $12,000.00 by voluntary subscription so as to offer a bounty of $300.00 to each man enlisting, which sum was later raised to $350.00, and they pledged the credit of the city to the amount of $4,000.00 in certificates bearing 10 per cent one year from February 1, 1865. In other ways the citizens worked faithfully; all served without pay, gladly giving time and ability for the cause.

Some unnecessary fault finding of course was expressed, but one well based complaint was that recruiting officers from other states came into Michigan City and aroused false hopes in men's minds. In 1861 the adjutant general ordered the arrest of all persons recruiting here from other states, directed especially against Illinois, which was trying to seduce many of the best mechanics of Michigan City to join an engineer regiment there. A Home Guard was formed in 1862, and patriotism was general, even to the children, for little girls formed soldiers' aid societies. It is not thought that the Knights of the Golden Circle were as active or as ugly here as in other parts of the state, but that they existed in Michigan City cannot be doubted, and in 1861 a man was arrested here on the presumption that he was a spy engaged in obtaining information for that organization.

After the war the military spirit declined again and the legion remained unorganized. In 1877 the railroad strikes demonstrated the necessity of a militia, and from that date on, the state militia has maintained a strong and permanent existence. General Carnahan, the father of the national guard, organized the Porter Light Artillery at Michigan City June 18, 1881, really the only militia company the state has had in recent years. It had 33 officers and enlisted men, and was designated as Company B, First Artillery, Indiana National Guard, the officers commissioned June 28, being Henry H. Wood Captain, Elias M. Lowe First Lieutenant, and Thomas S. Wirt Second Lieutenant. Lieut. Lowe resigned on account of his removal from the state, and Captain Wood became major, succeeded by Lieutenant Wirt. While the battery existed it was noted for its drill and efficiency. At the first state encampment at Indianapolis in 1882, it won first prize in the state artillery contest, which was presented by Governor Porter at the final review July 6. In 1893 at Indianapolis it took fifth prize in a contest that was exceedingly close between all participants. In 1884 and 1885 no general encampment was held but the Porter Light Artillery went into camp with the Third Regiment at Peru in 1884, and at LaPorte August 3, 10, 1885. Here services were held for General Grant, August 4, the citizens participating. A review of the troops was held by Governor Gray August 6, with an artillery duel between the Michigan City and the Butler batteries. (The term of service had expired in 1884 so that it was not regularly in service in 1885. The history of the National Guard of Indiana, page 107, says of this LaPorte encampment that that with the third regiment were, among others, the Porter Light Artillery of Michigan City, and the Gatling Gun Battery of Michigan City, but no other mention of this Gatling Gun Battery can be found.)

The first call for troops in the war with Spain was issued by Governor Mount April 25, 1898. Michigan City

then had no organization, but the state's quota was promptly filled. The desire to enlist was intense, throughout the state, and on the second call, May 25, 1898, it was necessary to restrain rather than to encourage enlistment. Voluntary companies had already been formed, and from among these the required one full regiment was made up, a Michigan City company being included; but for various reasons other regiments were chosen to represent the state in the regular army, so that those from Michigan City seeing active service, did so as individual members of other companies from northern Indiana. This regiment from northern Indiana, the 161st Indiana Volunteers, Infantry, was mustered into the U. S. service by Battalion. It was held in rendezvous at Camp Mount till August 11, 1898, when it left for Jacksonville, Florida, joining the 7th Army Corps under General Fitzhugh Lee. From Dec. 15, 1898, to March 29, 1899, the regiment stayed in Cuba. It arrived in Indianapolis May 3, 1899. This regiment lost 20 by death, one being Charles E. Leiter of Co. L, Michigan City.

Civic progress at the present day is evidenced by such important movements as the construction, at a cost of $36,000, of a modern bascule bridge at Franklin street; the adoption of plans for a handsome Young Men's Christian Association building to cost $100,000, of which amount one half is furnished by popular subscription and the other half by John H. Barker; the undertaking by the county to erect at once a public building for the use of the superior court and the various county and city officials; the further improvement of the harbor on broadened plans, and the congressional appropriation of a sum for the purchase of ground and the construction of a federal building in the central district. In the latter connection it is impossible to overlook the continuous interest in Michigan City's welfare taken by Congressman E. D. Crumpacker, who, during his several terms, has voted for every measure looking toward the advancement of the city. He secured the adoption of the present extended plans for the harbor and adequate appropriations for the work, and through his influence every river and harbor appropriation bill since he became a member has awarded a substantial amount to Michigan City, and the new turning basin and fog signal resulted from his efforts. He introduced the bill for the federal building and successded in securing its passage under discouraging circumstances, and he has further plans in the interest of the city and county.

As a fitting close to this sketch of the history of Michigan City it will be interesting to give the impression left upon the poetic mind of Harriet Martineau, the talented English woman of letters, after a visit made in 1836. She traveled by stage from Niles to Chicago, enduring much hardship on the journey, and spent a night at the little village, and she said in her published journal:

"The drive was so exciting and pleasant, the rain having ceased, that I was taken by surprise by our arrival at Michigan City. The driver announced our approach by a series of flourishes on one note of his common horn, which made the most ludicrous music I ever listened to.

"We were anxious to see the mighty fresh water sea. We made inquiry in the plazza, and a sandy hill, close by, covered with the pea-vine, was pointed out to us. We ran up it, and there beheld what we had come so far to see. There it was, deep, green, and swelling on the horizon, and whitening into a broad and heavy surf as it rolled in towards the shore. Hence, too, we could

make out the geography of the city. The whole scene stands insulated in my memory as absolutely singular; and, at this distance of time, scarcely creditable. I was so well aware on the spot that it would be so, that I had made careful and copious notes of what I saw; but memoranda have nothing to do with such emotions as were caused by the sight of that enormous body of tumultuous waters, rolling in apparently upon the helpless forest,—everywhere else so majestic.

"Immediately after supper we went out for a walk, which, in peculiarity, comes next to that in the Mammoth Cave; if, indeed, it be second to it. The scene was like what I always fancied the Norway coast, but for the wild flowers, which grew among the pines on the slope, almost into the tide. I longed to spend an entire day on this flowery and shadowy margin of the inland sea. I plucked handfuls of pea-vine and other trailing flowers, which seemed to run all over the ground. We found on the sands an army, like Pharoh's drowned host, of disabled butterflies, beetles, and flies of the richest colors and lustre, driven over the lake by the storm. Charlie found a small turtle alive. An elegant little schooner, "The Sea Serpent of Chicago," was stranded, and formed a beautiful object as she lay dark between the sand and the surf. The sun was going down. We watched the sunset not remembering that the refraction above the fresh waters would probably cause some remarkable appearance. We looked at one another in amazement at what we saw. First, there were three gay, inverted rainbows between the water and the sun, then hidden behind a little streak of cloud. Then the sun emerged from behind this only cloud, urn-shaped; a glistening golden urn. Then it changed, rather suddenly, to an enormous golden acorn. Then to a precise resemblance, except being prodigiously magnified, of Saturn with his ring. This was the most beautiful apparition of all. Then it was quickly narrowed and elongated till it was like the shaft of a golden pillar; and thus it went down square. Long after its disappearance, a lustrous, deep crimson dome, seemingly solid, rested steadily on the heaving waters. An experienced navigator might be pardoned for making all sail towards it, it looked so real."

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